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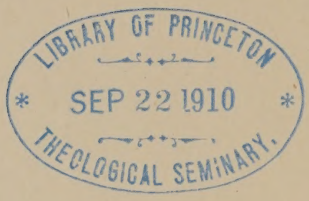

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SOCIAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND.

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SOCIAL LIFE

IN

SCOTLAND

FROM EARLY TO RECENT TIMES

BY THE

REV. CHARLES ROGERS, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

ETC., ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

CONVERSING with Principal Robertson about history, Dr Samuel Johnson remarked, "I wish much to have one branch well done, and that is the history of the manners of common life." Towards effecting, in connection with Scotland, what the great lexicographer regarded as important in relation to any country, I early dedicated a share of my attention. From my father, a parish minister in Fife, whose power in delineating the manners of a former age was only surpassed by his acuteness of observation, I derived a first impulse. What in expressive phraseology he delighted to set forth, I with juvenile ardour rejoiced to record; hence commenced those researches which I have sought diligently to sustain and carry out. When, in 1869, my gleanings for nearly a quarter of a century had considerably accumulated, I put them together, in a work, entitled "Scotland, Social and Domestic," which I then published. As my researches were desultory, so was this first record of them; yet the volume experienced a recep-

tion which far exceeded my expectation. There were two salutary results. On the one hand, persons in different parts of the country favoured me with valuable additions; on the other, I was led to pursue my enquiries in more systematic form. And now, reviewing my labours during the last fifteen years, I am not aware that I have allowed to remain unexamined any known work or MS. in which the social condition of the kingdom has been portrayed or even referred to. Nevertheless, I am fully conscious that I have merely touched the subject, not exhausted it.

The history of Scotland is not to be found in the chronicles of her kings, or in the narrative of her contendings with a powerful neighbour; not even in the records of her commerce. While by the blending of Celt and Teuton a distinctive nationality was formed, its development was effected by those who in conflict with a rugged soil and a rigorous climate, struggled diligently for subsistence. What were the earlier and latter surroundings of those who so struggled; how from inconsiderable beginnings the nation acquired that moral and intellectual superiority which induced Professor Rivet, a learned foreigner, early in the seventeenth century, to speak of the *praefervidum ingenium Scotorum*, it has been my object to discover. Or more plainly, how has a people occupying a mainland 285 miles at greatest

length, by 160 miles at greatest breadth, made from age to age a steady and persistent progress? For at the accession of Robert II. in 1371 the population was about 470,000, while in 1560 it had increased to 700,000; and at the union of the crowns, to 100,000 more. At the political union, in 1707, it was reckoned at 1,100,000, in 1755 at 1,255,663, and in 1791 at 1,514,999. During the following ninety years the numbers more than doubled, the census of 1881 representing a population of 3,735,573. And if progress is to be further estimated by the revenue returns, we would from data supplied in the "Exchequer Rolls" and the "Treasurer's Accounts" estimate the annual receipts in the reign of Alexander III. as not exceeding £30,000 of modern money, and in the reign of James IV. as considerably under £70,000. The Scottish national revenue in 1658 was actually £143,652 sterling. There was a subsequent falling off, the revenue at the Revolution in 1688 not exceeding £100,000, while at the Union it was about £110,700, and on the average of five years thereafter, £122,825. In 1882-3 the state revenues of North Britain amounted, in round numbers, to upwards of nine millions. For a progress so considerable we must search the cot rather than the castle. Too frequently the nobles wasted what the people gathered in. Culture for a time found refuge in the monasteries, but at length corruption supervened,

and thereupon arose that overwhelming passion, which swept ruthlessly away that which, fashioned by art, was consecrated by religion. In these pages have been traced the rise and progress of every branch of the social system, and an effort made to show how the usages of one age have influenced the manners of the next, and at length fixed the condition and destiny of the people.

Studying to be succinct, I have avoided prolixity on the one hand, and epigrammatic baldness upon the other. Nor have I burdened the narrative with references which might not strictly indicate the sources whence had been derived materials from which, in the first instance, error had to be purged and fiction eliminated. Therefore when sources of information are not denoted in text or in foot-note, I charge myself with individual responsibility for what has been written. While the work will extend to three volumes, I issue two volumes now, and these will embrace that portion of my subject wherein error is more likely to occur, than in the chapters which may follow. Till the concluding volume is put to press, one year hence, my portfolio will remain open to receive corrections. Nor will the most rigorous censor be deemed harsh should his remarks tend towards rendering less unworthy of its object a work of which the permanent value must wholly rest upon its substantial accuracy. With the needful appendices, the third volume will

embrace a narrative of the national superstitions, along with details of social humour, and of scholastic and literary history. An exhaustive index will be added.

A writer indebted to numerous correspondents during a period of years, may not be expected to present a list of all who by their communications have favoured him. Of those who have helped in the present work, some have passed away; and those who remain will, in the consciousness that they have been useful, doubtless excuse any specific acknowledgment. But it is imperative that I should fulfil an obvious duty by cordially thanking the Keepers of Libraries, the Curators of Museums, and the Secretaries of Public Institutions, who have courteously opened their treasures, and so facilitated my enquiries. In the General Register House I have been so frequent a visitor, that I must have utterly exhausted patience, unless those with whom I came in contact had possessed kindred tastes, and indulged a generous forbearance. From Mr Thomas Dickson, Curator of its Historical Department, I have experienced a full share of that obliging attention which he generously extends to all. In the Justiciary Department, Mr Veitch has refreshed me by genial co-operation, and Mr Malcolm Nicolson by his intelligent aid in the matter of Gaelic derivations. To thank Mr Walter Macleod, the most learned

of all inofficial record searchers, for assistance willingly rendered, is no less a pleasing duty than a hearty satisfaction.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that while what Dr Johnson suggested could not, in reference to Scotland, have been accomplished prior to our own times, when the records of the kingdom have been made generally accessible, one precious source of historical materials is still unavailable. The Kirk-session, Presbytery, and Synod Minute Books remain closed in the hands of their custodiers. Some of these commence in times bordering on the Reformation, while nearly all cover the years of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If under a civil or ecclesiastical enactment these records were calendered, much new light would be reflected on the national history.

CHARLES ROGERS.

6 Barnton Terrace,
Edinburgh, *October* 1884.

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SOCIAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

PREHISTORIC MODES.

THE Palæolithic age, or that which precedes the period of polished stone, has two epochs. The earlier presents man chipping into tools flint nodules and pebbles; in the latter he is fashioning implements from the flake after it has been detached from the nodule. Within Scottish caves are traces of the posterior epoch only. And in examining these scenes of archaic life, whether on the sea-board, or by the river bank, it is to be kept in view that there are generally present not traces only of primeval occupancy, but of possession at several eras of a later age. In caverns on the eastern coast, the viking sought shelter from the storm. And there long afterwards did the Christian missionary establish his oratory, or resort for meditation. Within the *weems* of Dysart, St Serf of the fifth century performed his ascetic vows, and in the caves of

Caiplie and Fifeness, St Adrian four centuries later sought repose amidst his evangelistic labours. In the caves by each class of occupants have been left memorials of their presence, in tools or weapons, or incised markings, and in Christian times by the symbol of the cross. The later period of the Palæolithic age, commencing before Britain was separated from the Continent, extends to that point of human history when some of the dispersed at Babel penetrated to north-western shores. On the part of the posterior cave-men there was an intelligent constructiveness. Their implements were of two sorts; those used in procuring food, and those adapted for providing lodgment. For the slaughter of birds and land animals were formed arrow-heads of flint and bone, which were attached to reeds, or slips of wood, and then propelled from a bow. Fish-spears were of deer-horn. A flake of pebble or quartzite was used as the hunter's knife. The skins of slain animals were sun-dried and then used as garments, being made fast to the shoulders by pins of bone. Fire was obtained by friction, that is by rubbing smartly together portions of hard wood, or striking flint against a piece of iron pyrites. By fire so kindled boulder stones were made hot, which were then applied to the carcases intended for use as food. There was no pottery, a stone-slab forming the rude platter. To secure the marrow, bones were broken

with water-worn stones gathered on the strand. When hunting did not yield the needed supplies, the cave-man satisfied his hunger by feeding on the whelk and limpet. The ordinary food of the Caledonian cave-man was the flesh of deer, also of the goat and the wild boar. The tools by which domiciliary comfort was secured, consisted of chisels and hatchets, constructed of flint and splits of the harder rock. The hatchet ranged in length from four to fifteen inches, and in breadth from one to four; at one end it was made sharp. By thongs attached to a wooden handle, it was vigorously applied to the tree till a deep indentation was produced. Thereafter, at the point of cleavage, fire was applied, and the work of felling perfected. Into the fallen trunk flint chisels were driven by mallets, and logs thereby secured.

From the mountains of Central Asia various tribes penetrated into Europe, and with them introduced the Neolithic age. These Ugric settlers reached the British coast in coracles of wicker covered with hides. From the Palæolithic races they differed, inasmuch as their tools and weapons were not rough but polished. The smoothness of their implements indicated their own advance in civilization. Tool manufactories were established, at which weapons were formed of symmetrical shapes, and with holes bored in them for the reception of handles. The purchase of tools at these manufactories originated inland

commerce. With the new and better formed stone implements were felled the larger trees, which, scooped by hatchets, were converted into canoes, as substitutes for the earlier coracles. These canoes were often forty feet in length, and of an average breadth of four feet. Sharp at prow and stern, so as to be moved either way, they were propelled by paddles, sails being unknown.

The Ugric or Turanian settlers of the Neolithic age used hides as clothing, as had done the earlier races. By fishing and by the chase they derived subsistence. They also raised grain, for querns or grain crushers are found in their dwellings. Some of these querns are of wood.

A chief feature in the Neolithic age is the formation of sepulchres. How the cave races disposed of their dead does not appear; the Turanians had recourse to burial. Yet the word burial does not convey with absolute precision the intention of the Ugric races in the disposal of bodies. It was their doctrine that a material existence continued after death, and that those departed from this life continued the invisible occupants of their former haunts. In Turanian fancy the tomb was a theatre of activity, from which the deceased could chase the deer upon the mountain, or track the wild boar to his lair in the forest. Hence was the life dwelling of the chief reserved as his habitation in the viewless world after

he was gone. Thus the mythical Semiramis is said to have buried her husband in the palace of Nineveh, and the early Egyptians reared pyramids over the bodies of their kings.

British settlers of the Neolithic age at first consigned their dead to the lesser caves. But this practice was not long continued. Their dwellings, like the primitive Asiatic tent, were formed of logs, in conical shape and converging to a point. The occupant, when he died, was, in a sitting posture, placed in the centre, surrounded by his weapons and household implements. The entrance was now made fast, and the dwelling abandoned: when it fell by age or by the ravages of the tempest, the wreck was gathered into a heap. Hence arose the primeval cairn. The log dwelling was superseded by the tent-like house of mud and stone, a structure common at the Roman invasion, and which in recent times was represented in the *Bur* of the Hebrides, and by the lowland *Caer*.

The tribes of the Neolithic period varied in physique. Those which settled in South Britain were short in stature, with large heads, dark eyes, and prominent cheek-bones. By Tacitus they are described as planted in South Wales, where they were known as the Silures. Apparently a Basque family, they probably migrated from Spain. The Ugric races of the north were large-boned and muscular; they

were probably descendants of the Jetten, a gigantic race commemorated in Danish legend.

In the popular superstitions linger memories of the Neolithic age. In Sweden a polished stone is used as a protection against lightning, and in the Scottish highlands and in Ireland elf arrows, mounted in silver, are worn around the neck as a preventive of sorcery.

By the Celts, a great Aryan family which from the eastern shores of the Caspian sea had made early settlements in Germany and Gaul, was established in Britain a new epoch. To these shores they were attracted by the mineral treasures on the Cornish coast. Crossing the channel in their canoes, the Celts first settled at the mines of Cornwall, the Silures on their approach retiring into Wales. But they soon spread everywhere, and were hailed as benefactors: their manners were gentle, and they gave instruction in religion and the arts. Familiar with the mode of fusing and working and mixing metals, they constructed weapons and implements of bronze. They introduced the bronze age.

Of the bronze age, the earlier implements were moulded in forms resembling those of the Neolithic period. For a time, indeed, tools of bronze and polished stone were used simultaneously, a circumstance which implies that the intruding race did not attempt the general displacement of their Ugric pre-

decessors. At length the British races, Aryan and Ugric, merged into one family.

What form of speech was used by the earlier race may not be ascertained. Place-names, derived from the Basque language, occasionally occur; but these might have been imposed by those who accompanied the pioneers of commerce from Iberian shores. As a rule, place-names are of Celtic origin. In South Devon and Cornwall place-names and prefixes occur, which are also common in Fife and Argyle, and in all the provinces of Ireland.

To their localities the Celts imparted names, solely in reference to their topical features. The island was called Britain from the compound word Brait-an, signifying a high country. The northern part was styled Albyn—that is, the region of the high mountains. Separated into two divisions, the Celts established distinct settlements; the Cimbri were planted in the south, the Cruithne in Ireland. From Ireland the Cruithne sent colonies into Albyn. By the Romans the Cimbri and Cruithne were distinguished as the southern and northern Picts. Deriving from the same source, and undisturbed by any influences which were not common to both, the two races were unlikely, at the expiry of a thousand years, to evince any prominent variety. When Cæsar sets forth that they painted with woad, he referred to the practice whereby these early races described coloured stripes on

their knees and lower limbs, so denoting the families or septs to which they belonged. This practice originated the tartan of Celtic clans. The Cruithne who effected settlements in Scotland were styled Albanach, subsequently Caledonians, from the words *coille*, a forest, and *dun*, enclosed or impregnable.

Subsequent to the plantation in Britain of the Celtic race a refining influence supervened. From their territories on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean sea the Phœnicians sent colonies eastward and westward. They were brethren of the ancient Hittites, that people whom Joshua dispossessed, and with whose descendants, the Philistines, the Hebrews were perpetually at war. Unlike the Hittites, who were idle and sensual, the Phœnicians were frugal and industrious. By skilled workmen, they felled the oaks of Lebanon, which at Sidon and Tyre they converted into ships. Sidon was founded B.C. 2200, and a few centuries later Phœnician colonies studded the coasts of the Mediterranean, also the shores of the Ægean and the Euxine.

Sailing into the Atlantic, the Phœnicians planted Gades or Cadiz, and from thence procured, with other metals, tin and lead.[1] It is held by Sir John Lubbock[2] that Cadiz was founded between B.C. 1500 and B.C. 1200, and if this opinion is

[1] Ezek. xxvii. 12.

[2] "Prehistoric Times," London, 1865, p. 46.

correct, it is not improbable that the tin and lead which, B.C. 1452, the Hebrews obtained among the spoils of Midian[1] were by way of Spain brought from the shores of Britain. That the Phœnicians traded with Britain, or rather with the isles of the Cassiterides, we learn from Herodotus, and as the fleets of Solomon and Hiram, which proceeded to Cadiz together[2] nearly a thousand years before our era, occupied three years in a single voyage, it is probable that the delay arose in waiting the return from Britain of the mineral-laden ships.

In Cornwall, about eighteen miles W.S.W. of Falmouth, is Marazion, a small town occupied by workers in the tin and copper mines of that neighbourhood. The name is of Hebrew derivation. During the Saxon period Jews were numerous in the south of Britain. May some of the Hebrew people have accompanied into this country the Phœnician traders? The tribe of Asher included in their original inheritance "the strong city Tyre,"[3] and Zebulon dwelt "at the haven of ships, with his border unto Zidon."[4] Of these tribes, some members may have been employed as wood-hewers in the forests of Lebanon, or at Tyre as ship-builders. In the reign of Solomon, most probably also in that of David, Phœnician and Israelitish merchantmen traded in common. When

[1] Numbers xxxi. 22. [2] 1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chronicles ix. 21.
[3] Joshua xix. 29. [4] Gen. xlix. 13.

afterwards the Jews fell upon evil times, those made captives in war were enslaved by the Phœnicians.[1] The name Marazion may point to a bitter wail from captive Hebrews. And the prediction of Moses, when he spoke of the tribe of Zebulon as partaking of "the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand,"[2] may have reference to their planting colonies on a distant sea-board, and digging metallic dust on the shores of Britain.

Through the port of Cadiz did British Celts maintain with Phœnicia a close and uninterrupted trade. From Tyre, Sidon, and other Mediterranean ports were brought into this country, in exchange for metals, commodities such as salt and pottery; also flax and wool. The art of weaving was carried westward. So was ornamental work in jewels. Foreign artists fashioned, of amber found upon the coasts, beads, perforated knobs, and brooches; shells were converted into drinking vessels. In the days of Ossian drinking shells were "studded with gems."

In memory of Eden, the early settlers in Mesopotamia consecrated groves, and worshipped under the canopy of oaks. Abraham, we are informed, "planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the Lord."[3] In the earlier times God was in the grove worshipped under the name of Baal, that is as master or possessor—the universe being regarded as

[1] Joel iii. 4-8. [2] Deut. xxxiii. 19. [3] Gen. xxi. 33.

his temple, the earth as his altar. As the benignant source of light and heat, the sun was revered as Baal's chief vicegerent; latterly, the sun was called Baal and worshipped. Ashtaroth, or the moon, became "the goddess of the Zidonians." [1]

The grove of worship originally stood in the sheltered vale. Next it was planted on the hill-side, afterwards on eminences. At length its shelter was dispensed with, and religious ceremonies were performed on high places, unsheltered and unenclosed. So degraded had become the Canaanitish votaries of Baal Peor, that not their worship only was proscribed, but themselves doomed to extinction. To the Hebrews was the command given to destroy their altars "upon the high mountains, upon the hills, and under every green tree." [2] Yet the rites of Baal proved a constant stumbling-block to the Israelites, and at the expiry of a thousand years, after the first public condemnation of the idol, it became needful for a prophet to express the Divine command, "Call me no more Baali." [3]

From Mesopotamia, the idolatrous rites of Baal spread to India on the east, and by Phœnician traders were carried north-westward to Gaul and Britain. In the latter countries the priests of Baal were termed Druids—a word which, both in the Greek language

[1] Kings xi. 5. [2] Exod. xx. 24-26; Deut. xii. 2.
[3] Hosea ii. 16.

and in the Celtic, signifies oaks or oak-worshippers. In northern Europe Baal became a common prefix. Familiar in the Lofodden Isles, to which the Phœnicians traded, it gave, through the same instrumentality, a name to the Baltic Sea. Throughout Britain and Ireland, the prefix Baal or Bel occurs everywhere. There are Baal hills in Yorkshire.

On the mountains of Moab and the hills of Philistia, sacrificial fires had blazed to the idol god. Bullocks were originally offered, but as degeneracy made its baneful progress, the votaries of Baal surrendered in sacrifice their sons and daughters. This "passing through the fire to Moloch" was especially condemned by the Hebrew prophets.[1] Within the area of twelve Scottish counties may be traced on fifty hill-tops the remains of ancient fires. These fires exhibit a fusion of portions of the harder rock as in a reverberatory furnace. Described as vitrified forts, it is forgotten that such forts had no real existence. Nor do the spots at which these fused masses are found exhibit any traces of structural arrangement. They were the scenes of Baal fires at which sacrifices were rendered to the sun and moon.[2] "Raise my standard on high,"

[1] Deut. xviii. 10; 1 Kings xviii. 23; 2 Kings xxiii. 10; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3; Jer. xix. 4, 5.

[2] Large boulders, ascribed to volcanic origin, and scattered on northern moors, are popularly known as "heathens." May not these be the remains of Druidic altars or sacrificial heaps?

cried Fingal, "spread them on Lena's wind, like the flames of an hundred hills."

The prevalence of Druidic sacrifices in North Britain is testified by existing usages. On Beltane (Baal's fire), or May-day, the Druids upon their altars celebrated the renewal by the sun of his vernal power. Two fires were kindled, one upon a heap of stones, the other upon the soil. Between these were passed the animals which were devoted in sacrifice. Human victims were enclosed in willow baskets, and in these cast upon the flames.

Such practices are by existing observances obviously perpetuated. Through a perforated monolith at Burnham, in Yorkshire, also through the great stones of Odin at Stennis, sick children are on May-day passed by their parents, in the hope of cure. At the Beltane festival, observed in the northern counties, children kindle great fires, and, as part of a ceremonial, rush wildly through the flames. In the counties of Ross and Sutherland, young men formerly walked round the Baal fires carrying branches of the mountain ash garnished with sprigs of heath. On their feast days the Druids carried about oak branches bearing the misletoe. Water boiled at Beltane fires is believed to acquire medicinal virtues. Cakes toasted at Baal fires are held to be spiritually sustaining. These fires were kindled by peculiar rites. On the evening of the 30th April,

the usual fires were extinguished. Early next morning men selected for the duty assembled secretly to raise *teine-eigin*, or need fire. They rubbed together portions of hard wood, or turned an augur in a dry log till fire was produced. Into fire so raised young men dipped torches, which they bore hastily to their respective villages, and thence to the nearest eminence. Horns were blown, and a procession formed. Formerly Beltane sports were continued from early morn till late at eve. In Scotland they can be traced to the time of James I., who reigned from 1424 to 1437. In his poem of "Peebles to the Play," James refers to the Beltane sports in these lines :—

"At Beltane, when ilk body bounis
To Peebles to the play,
To hear the singin' and the soundis,
The solace, sooth to say.

By firth and forest, furth they foun,[1]
They graithit them fu' gay ;
God wot, that wald they do that stoun,[2]
For it was their feast day,
They said
Of Peebles to the play."

Beltane rites, with the worship of the sun and moon, were condemned by Canute early in the eleventh century.

The festival of Hallowe'en is, in the Highlands, per-

[1] wend. [2] occasion.

petuated by fires upon the hill-sides; and in the Lowlands by a course of domestic rites. As the feast of ingathering, Hallowe'en was formerly celebrated at cairns, and hence is the harvest-home familiarly known as the *kirn*. *Yule*, the modern Christmas, was also kept as a Druidic feast; the sun was then supposed to begin his increase. The two fires of Baal are perpetuated in a Gaelic proverb; when, in the Highlands, anyone is in difficulty, or on the horns of a dilemma, he is described as "between the fires of Baal."

In the practice of their rites British Druids indulged a course of lustration. Commemorative of the waters of the deluge purifying the earth, a peculiar reverence was attached to water proceeding from the clouds. Hand-washing in snow-water is, as an emblem of innocency, mentioned in the book of Job.[1] Cisterns for rain water were prized by the Hebrews, and it was a pledge by Rabshakeh to the besieged of Jerusalem that each would receive his own cistern.[2] Rain water in different forms was, by the Syrians and Arabians, used in their religious rites. In Egypt, rain, which seldom falls, was collected in troughs, and appropriated to sacred uses. The Egyptians purified themselves with snow water. The Greeks used rain-water in their libations; they also sprinkled themselves with dew.

[1] Job ix. 30. [2] 2 Kings xviii. 31.

At their altars, the Druids used rain-water cisterns, which were scooped in rocks, also in flags and upon rocking-stones. From these, the priests, after performing personal ablutions, sprinkled the people. Near these cisterns, we learn from Pliny, were grown certain plants which, immersed in rain-water, were supposed to yield healing qualities. Of these plants the more reputed were the selago and the samolus, or round leaved water-pimpernel.

Before pulling the selago, the priest made personal ablution and clothed himself in a surplice or white vestment. In rain-water in which the selago was dipped, sick children were bathed for cure. The leaves of the samolus were gathered by the priest fasting, and then plunged into a small cistern, for the cure of cattle.

The more remarkable rock-basins of this country exist in Cornwall and South Wales. Of the former we are informed in his "Antiquities,"[1] by Borlase; of the latter, by Leland in his "Itinerary." Borlase describes circumstantially the rock-basins of Karnbie Hill in the parish of Illogan; also those on a group of rocks at Bosworlar, near Penwith. At both places the

[1] "Antiquities of Cornwall," by William Borlase, LL.D., F.R.S. Lond., 1769; folio. To this erudite work, much too little known among northern antiquaries, we have pleasure in referring. Those desirous of prosecuting the study of archaic customs ought to become acquainted with this book.

basins are isolated, also in groups; and are scooped in the level surfaces of rocks rising about twenty feet above the common level.

The rock-basins of Cornwall vary from six feet to a few inches in diameter, and from three feet to a few inches in depth. Where the basins exist in groups they are connected by grooves, through which the contents of the upper cavities are conducted to those on a lower level, and ultimately discharged into the soil.

Rain-water cisterns resembling those of Cornwall and South Wales are to be found in the rocks of Plumpton in Yorkshire. In a valuable paper on "Cup-marked Stones,"[1] lately contributed to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, Mr William Jolly, F.R.S.E., refers to several rock-basins discovered by him in Inverness-shire. Among these he found in a field near Fingal's Hill, at the head of Strathglass, a small block of hornblende schist, containing a basin six inches in diameter; also in the old graveyard of Comar on the banks of the Beauly, two blocks of whinstone, each pierced with basins about eight inches in diameter. Near the "hut circles," in the Black Isle of Taendore (house of treasure), he found a stone embedded in the soil presenting a basin eight inches in diameter and of similar depth. And we learn from

[1] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1881-2; new series, vol. iv., pp. 482-6.

the "New Statistical Account of Scotland" that at Kiltearn in Ross-shire there formerly existed near a megalithic circle a basin of the diameter of eight feet.[1] Four miles to the south of St Andrews, near the parish church of Dunino, is a rock basin, resembling in form those of Cornwall and Wales. Scooped in the level summit of a sandstone rock, which rises with perpendicular front towards the channel of a small stream, it is four feet eight inches in upper diameter, with a depth of two feet four inches. It receives its contents solely from the clouds, and is without any visible outlet. A mass of stones, which resembled those of a cromlech, lay on a portion of rising ground about forty yards to the eastward. This heap was removed early in the century. In the locality of the basin the plant selago grows luxuriantly.

A system of lustration lingers among the peasantry. On the morning of May-day country maidens ascend the hills to anoint their faces in dew, thereby to secure beauty and good fortune. Dipping in a tub for apples is one of the diversions at Hallowe'en. Another of these consists in three tubs being placed on the hearth, into one of which is poured clean, and into a second foul water, while the third is kept empty. From a given point a party of young bachelors advance blindfolded, each to dip a finger in one of the vessels. He who dips in the clean water

[1] New Statistical Account, vol. xiv., p. 321.

has augury of wedding a maid; he who dips in the soiled water will marry a widow; and to the dipper in the empty tub is reserved a life of celibacy.

By the early Christian teachers, rock-basins, as associated with Pagan mysteries, were discountenanced, while wells of spring-water were recommended in their stead. At spring wells were converts baptised and received into the Church, and many wells are in consequence associated with the early teachers, and denoted by their names. Pilgrimages to wells were common at the period of the Reformation, and the frequenting of wells supposed to be consecrated, was a prevalent custom of the seventeenth century. In some parts of the Highlands the practice continues.

In the east a small round pebble was worshipped as a symbol of the sun. By the Druids a water-worn crystal of oval shape was worn round the neck; it was styled *glan-nathair*, or the adder-cleanser. Rain water, in which it was dipped, was held to possess the power of healing, and was with this intent sprinkled among the sickly.

Amulets worn by the Druids were, when Christianity was introduced, not thrown wholly aside. By St Columba a white stone or pebble was sent to the Pictish sovereign in token of his regard. To sceptres, maces, and pastoral staves were rock crystals affixed. An egg-shaped crystal is inserted in

front of the pendant part of the quigrich or crosier of St Fillan. The quigrich was, at the battle of Bannockburn, held up by the Abbot of Inchaffray, to encourage the Scottish army on the eve of conflict.[1] Rock crystals, belonging to the families of Stewart of Ardvoirlich and Lockhart of Lee, were formerly believed to impart to water a healing efficacy. On the margins of lakes and rivers are found balls of greenstone, also of bronze, which are associated with superstitious rites. In shape both round and oval, they vary in diameter from one and a half to three inches. Some are divided into hemispheres, ornamented with incised spirals ; others represent scrolls and zoomorphic emblems.

Of Druidic authority, a chief symbol was the rocking-stone. In presence of a priesthood, who could move rocks by touch, their votaries trembled. Rocking stones are found at Druidic centres. They were styled *clacha breth*, or stones of judgment. The rocking-stones of Cornwall and of the Scilly isles are of vast bulk. In Scotland the more conspicuous *clacha breth* are those at Kilbarchan in Renfrewshire, at Kells, Kirkcudbrightshire, and at Balvaird and Dron, Perthshire. The majority of these stones are artificially poised ; the others are natural.

[1] St Fillan's crosier is now deposited in the Museum at Edinburgh of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.

The rocking-stone seems to have suggested the cromlech or stone-in-suspension. Upon two or four upright stones or flags a few feet apart was placed a dolmen or cromlech. As the people passed under it, the Druid priest blessed and sprinkled them. In his "Antiquities," Borlase describes a remarkable dolmen at Constantine, in Cornwall. Placed on the points of two natural rocks in a manner so that a man might walk beneath it, the cromlech is 97 feet in circumference, and weighs about 750 tons. On the summit it is honey-combed into basins or cisterns. Within the megalithic circle, the cromlech was usually assigned a central place.

In earlier times grove-worship obtained extensively. A space of ground, varying in extent, was secluded from common use and dedicated to religion. At Karnbie Hill, Cornwall, the scene of rock basins and other Druidic remains, appears an ancient enclosure equal to an English acre. About one hundred yards from the rock basin at Dunino is the parish churchyard, in which, about twenty years ago, was dug up the fragment of a Celtic cross;[1] while a farm-homestead to the eastward is called Balcaithly—that is, *Baal in the field*—the farm-homestead on the west being designated Balelie, or *Baal on the other side.* At some distance to the north-westward is Pitandreich,

[1] Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," 1867, fol., vol. ii. p. 3, Plate IX.

the *burial place of the Druids.* At Dunino the religious enclosure was probably two miles in circuit.

Localities consecrated as groves or scenes of early worship are known as *firth-splots.* The superstitious rites of the firth-splot long survived the rites with which it was associated. In the year 967, King Edgar forbade well-worshipping, and the superstitious usages of the firth-splot. But Scottish firth-splot practices proved a source of discomfort to the Church long after the Reformation. In some districts of the country the firth-splot is distinguished as *the good man's croft;* in certain parts of the Highlands it is protected from tillage.

By the early Celts were the dead buried within the enclosure of four flags capped by a fifth. The body was placed with the knees drawn up to the chin, as in a sitting posture. Cairns or grave mounds were placed side by side, and being united became *Barrows.* A commemorative pillar stone was at first planted in the centre of the cairn; subsequently, upright stones were placed in circular form upon its edge. The practice was introduced by the Phœnicians. At Bethel, Jacob commemorated his vision of angels by planting a monolith.[1] By a pillar stone, enclosed by a heap, he at Galeed perpetuated his covenant with Laban.[2] When Rachel was buried, he placed a pillar upon her grave.[3] At the base of Sinai Moses reared

[1] Gen. xxviii. 18. [2] Gen. xxxi. 45-52. [3] Gen. xxxv. 20.

an altar, also twelve pillars, according to the number of the tribes.[1] By twelve stones at Gilgal, Joshua commemorated the miraculous passage of the Jordan.[2] By a pillar at Ebenezer, Samuel celebrated a victory over the Philistines.[3]

In Bible lands the rearing of pillars, originally commemorative, came to be associated with the corrupt practices of Baal. Pillars so associated the Israelites were commanded to destroy.[4]

By means of their bronze wedges the Celts of Britain readily broke up and separated the sedimentary rocks. From distant quarries were brought rude but majestic pillars to surround the cairns of chiefs and heroes. In the progress of ages circles increased in circumference and in columnar dignity. Under pillars heroes were buried. Upon single arose concentric circles. Next followed circles in groups and with various intersections. Expatiating beyond their original firth-splots, the Druidic priesthood appropriated to the purposes of their religion spots and erections hallowed in popular memories. The megalithic circle was converted into a sanctuary or place of worship. There sacrifices were offered, and a deluded people gratified by the sprinkling of heaven-descended water. Hecatæus, a Greek historian, who wrote five centuries before Christ, remarks that

[1] Ex. xxiv. 4.
[2] Joshua iv. 19-24.
[3] 1 Sam. vii. 12.
[4] Deut. xii. 2.

Britain was remarkable for a magnificent sacred enclosure dedicated to Apollo ; also for a circular temple celebrated for its riches. The places so described were doubtless the megalithic structures of Avebury and Stonehenge. When, under the influences of the Christian faith Druidism had ceased, the megalithic circle was still regarded with reverential awe. As places of sepulture, Avebury and Stonehenge were restored to their pristine use. At the great circle of Stennis in Orkney, interments have been conducted within the Christian period. Near megalithic circles were built the earlier churches, and on the practice of burial within these enclosures was engrafted the system of interment in the parish church.

When the Highlander desires to be informed whether his neighbour has been at church, he uses words in his enquiry which literally signify, "Have you been at the stones ?"

By exercising at cairns a religious ceremonial, the Druidic priesthood were designated *carnach* or cairn-worshippers. At cairn funerals they sacrificed oxen, and accepted animals for use at the public festivals. Appropriating to their rites the monumental circles, they protected the ashes of the dead, and thus secured the affection of the living.

In eastern countries, where the early disposal of dead bodies is essential to health, arose the system of cremation, the cinerary remains being collected in

an earthen vessel or vase. This method preceded that of embalmment, which existed in Egypt so early as the time of Joseph, and in the adjacent countries was continued long afterwards. In Palestine, the remains of royal persons were burned on a funeral pile. Public contempt was evinced towards Jehoram, the wicked king of Judah, inasmuch that no burning for him was made, "like the burning of his fathers."[1] By the Phœnicians the system of cremation was brought into Britain, and while it did not entirely supersede the former mode of burial, it became general. British cinerary urns, unlike those of Etruria, were without ornament. Of circular shape, tapering towards the base, the common urn was about ten inches in height and eight inches in diameter. It was placed in the soil on its base, but occasionally with the mouth downward, resting on a stone. Along with it were deposited small vessels with food and drink; also weapons, household implements, and personal ornaments.

Inosculating with the funeral urn is the chambered cairn, including stone passages by which the chambers may be reached. To the same age may be assigned the bell-shaped structures peculiar to the northern Celts. These erections, called Bothan (huts) in the Hebrides, are in southern counties styled Burians, and in northern Brochs; they are now

[1] 2 Chron. xxi. 19.

generally named *burghs* or mud-houses. The greater number are to be found in the counties of Sutherland and Caithness; they are also common in Orkney and Shetland. Built of undressed stones and without cement, they present to the eye a circular mass of unbroken masonry. The walls, fifteen and twenty feet in thickness, contain within their compass chambers which open into a court. The court, accessible only by a passage through which a single individual might pass, was protected by a stone door, which no lever might dislodge. Nor would a forcible entrance into the interior court have much availed, since the intruders would have become victims to the besieged, by being smitten with missiles from the galleries and loopholes.

Built upon the banks of rivers, also in the more fertile districts, burghs have been described as store houses. Within the ruins have been found weapons of bronze, and also gold ornaments, impressed with Christian symbols. The Celtic burghs were prototypes of the Christian bell towers, of which specimens remain at Abernethy and Brechin.

During the Neolithic period defence against attacks was maintained by such gigantic earthworks as those of Ratho and Lincluden. The chambered cairn was probably the prototype of the fortifications of Cathairdun (the place of judgment). Of the White Cathairdun, the circumvallating wall, of

undressed stone, is in breadth twenty-seven feet. But four and five circumvallating walls were not uncommon in Caledonian forts. They were ordinarily approached by underground roadways, roofed with large stones, and which opened from a covered gallery, effectually concealed.

The precaution which led the Phœnicians to build their city of Tyre upon an island induced their colonists who settled in Britain to suggest the crannog, and to construct it. In some of the larger lakes, crannog-builders selected shallows or small islets, on which they raised platforms of clay and stone, supported by timber stakes. Upon these platforms they erected log dwellings, into which in times of peril they conveyed their stores. Scottish crannogs were most numerous; their remains are found in the lochs of the southern and western counties; also in the northern provinces, except in the two northernmost counties. Within crannog-islets have been found carved ornaments in bone and jet, also handles of deer horn, querns, and bronze implements. In the Ayrshire crannogs have been picked up articles in wood-work, incised with Druidic symbols, and remains associated with the early Christian age. Crannog-building, from first to last, extended over a period of about fifteen hundred years. The crannog dwellers lived on venison, water-fowl, and shell-fish.[1]

[1] Dr Robert Munro's work on "Ancient Scottish Lake Dwell-

The crannog preceded the stone-built castle, also surrounded by water. The earlier stone strongholds were built on islets, then on edges of lakes and rivers, and partly enclosed by them; latterly in situations which admitted of fosse and rampart.

The earlier means of offensive warfare were most imperfect. But the Phœnicians brought with them the war chariot; every other mode of explaining the introduction of so destructive an appliance is unsatisfying. The war chariot was an important equipment in Philistian armies, and from the time of Joshua was much dreaded by the Hebrews. Brought into Britain it proved against the rebellious natives most formidable and resistless. The British war chariot was balanced so as not to overturn. Studded with spears, it was among the enemy's ranks driven furiously. Ossian thus describes the chariot of Cuchullin—"The car, the car of war, comes on, like the flame of death! the rapid car of Cuchullin, the noble son of Semo! It bends behind like a wave near a rock—like the sun-streaked mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam; its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears; the bottom is the footstool of heroes! Before the right side of the car is seen the snorting horse.

ings," published in 1882, may be advantageously consulted. This work forms an important addition to our archaic literature.

The high-maned, broad-breasted, proud, wide-leaping, strong steed of the hill. Loud and resounding is his hoof; the spreading of his mane above is like a stream of smoke on the ridge of rocks."

When, in A.D. 80, Agricola led the Roman legionaries into Caledonia, he made an easy conquest of a people ignorant of his approach, and therefore unprepared to resist him. But the conquerors of the world soon found that the inhabitants of the north were more formidable antagonists than the Britons, who had already succumbed to the Roman yoke. According to Tacitus, the Caledonians were large limbed and otherwise resembled the German races. Intermingling with the Ugric race which had preceded them, they also shared the blood of the Scandinavian vikings. At the battle of the Grampians, fought on the heights of Ardoch, they effectively wielded the war chariot, and though ultimately defeated by a people whose profession was conquest, they continued to wage with their invaders a ceaseless conflict. A chain of forts raised by Agricola between the Forth and Clyde, did not prevent combined resistance against the common enemy. Nor did the rampart reared A.D. 120, between the Tyne and Solway, nor the wall between the Forth and Clyde, erected twenty years later, depress the ardour of a valorous people. They refused to acknowledge the supremacy of a race, strange to them in manners and religion, and when

after an occupation of three centuries and a half, the Romans retired, their language and habits remained unchanged. Yet the Romans occupied the country with benefit to the natives. By their axes were cut down the forests, and by their implements were morasses drained and embankments formed against intrusion by unfenced waters. They interlaced the country with roads and causeways. Upon the hills they introduced fallow-deer, and into enclosures, the domestic fowl. They imparted a knowledge of the culinary and ceramic arts. To the present day a model of the Roman camp-kettle is found in the *broth-pot* of every Scottish cottage.

Prior to the Roman invasion, the Fins, a migratory race, passed over Northern Europe. Of these, one or more tribes settled on the eastern sea-board. There they constructed underground habitations, or *eirde* houses, where they lived in concealment. Remains of *eirde* dwellings are frequently discovered in the counties of Forfar and Aberdeen, within one or two miles from the shore. In character they are nearly uniform. There is a central chamber connected with narrow and winding galleries. The sides are formed of rude stones, and the roofs of boughs and sods. Of short stature, the occupants corresponded with the *svartalfer*, a small dark people, named in northern sagas. By Tacitus they are described as poor and mean. In the *eirde* house are

found round stones for pounding grain, but no specimen of the quern or hand-mill. To the existence of their occupants may be ascribed the superstitious notions of brownies and hobgoblins with subterraneous homes and capricious habits.

About the year 423 the Romans finally withdrew from Britain, when both on the eastern and western shores appeared a new and adventurous race. Of this race, the Sarmatian founders had from the shores of the Danube and of the Euxine penetrated northward, ultimately effecting settlements between the Baltic and the extremities of the north. The Scandinavians, as they were called, proceeded to exercise their enterprise and employ their energies upon the ocean. From the period of the Fins, they made inroads upon our northern shores. Inlets in which they harboured are to the present day known as *wicks;* not a few localities, are so named, such as Aberbrothwick on the east coast, and Prestwick upon the west. By intermarriage Scandinavian settlers and the Cruithne became as a single people.

From their Norwegian homes, a body of Scandinavians planted themselves in Antrim, along its northern shore. By the Cruithne they were designated *Sgeadaich,* clothed, in allusion to their woollen garments. Their place of settlement was styled Dalriada, from the words *Dal* and *ruadh,* which together signify the plain of the red-haired.

The *Sgeadaich* or wool-clothed settlers at Antrim formed an alliance with the Picts, and crossing to Kintyre, only fourteen miles distant, assisted them against the Romans. At length, as we learn from Tighernach, the Irish abbot, they, in 498, under the leadership of Fergus Mor Mac Earca, found outlet for their increasing numbers, on the south part of Argyleshire, north of the Clyde. That new settlement embraced the districts of Cowall, Kintyre, Knapdale, and Argyle, including the isles of Isla, Iona, and Arran; it also was called Dalriada. The people were now called Scots.

Converts to the Christian faith, prior to their advent in Argyle, the Scots hailed the advent of St Columba, and as a home, granted him Iona. This was in the year 563. By the Scots was the Irish apostle made known to the Pictish king, who listening to his teaching, embraced the Christian faith. Already had the southern Celts, the people of Strathclyde, accepted the Gospel, through the labours of St Ninian.

No sooner had the Scots settled on the western shore than the Saxons began to occupy the coast from the Humber to the Forth. Their settlement was effected without bloodshed, for the invading races were by the Caledonians regarded as brethren rather than as strangers. In planting the southern counties, the Teutons commemorated the previous occupants, by retaining their place names. The hills near Edin-

burgh were named by them as those of Pentland or Pictland; and to the channel between the mainland and the Orkneys they gave the name of the Pentland or Pictland Firth.

With a view to conciliation, the immediate followers of St Columba, and other early apostles of the Christian faith, sought to engraft the new religion on the modes and observances of the old. Christian worship was therefore conducted at cairns and in caverns, also at circles and cromlechs. At ancient firth splots were reared chapels and churches, and portions of ground were there laid out for burial.

Even in the mode of interment the converts to the faith of the Gospel did not abolish pre-existing customs. In the graves were deposited the ornaments which the deceased had worn in life. Gentlewomen were buried with their finger-rings; the higher clergy in their robes, and with ecclesiastical insignia. As in Pagan times, charcoal was strewn upon the remains. Vessels of holy water and perforated vases of incense were placed in the graves. Incense vessels were so deposited up to the fourteenth century.

In tracing the progress of Druidic rites, we have hitherto left untouched the subject of archaic symbolism. The more ancient symbols on cup-marked stones may be traced from the Pyrenees to Scandinavia. Abounding largely in Britain they are espe-

cially common in those localities associated with the Celtic race.

Cup-marks, or round and oval indentations in rocks or in slabs, vary from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in diameter, and in depth from half an inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They appear both singly and in groups. One or two pits on a wide surface are not uncommon, while on a small slab or rock surface these may be traced by hundreds.

These archaic marks appear chiefly on the softer rocks, but they are also incised in granite, porphyry and mica-schist. They are common on cromlechs, the stones of cairns, and megalithic circles.

Cup-marks are at times environed by circular grooves, while two adjoining cups, enclosed by circles, are united by a groove. Some concentric circles present seven rings with a groove passing through each, from the centre to the extremity.[1]

Whence the origin and purpose of these archaic sculptures? In common with the cup-markings have been found at Ohio and Kentucky the polished stone piercers which produced them, and it may therefore be affirmed that they are not less ancient

[1] For most important and interesting details respecting the cup-marked stones of Scotland, see Papers by Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart.; J. Romilly Allen, Esq.; and William Jolly, Esq., F.R.S.E., in the "Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries," vol. vi., appendix i.; vol. iv., new series, pp. 79-143, 300-401.

than the transition period of the bronze age, which followed the Neolithic. On the other hand, cup-marked stones are built into the petrified structures of Laws and of Tappoch, implying that at the period of the Roman invasion these symbolisms were forgotten.

In this country pit-marked stones are unassociated with the national legends. But the Swedish peasantry call the pits elf-stones, and place in them needles, buttons, and other small articles as offerings to the elves. A similar belief exists in Prussia, where pit marks are still sculptured on the walls of churches.

In comparing cup-marked stones with the rock-basins of Cornwall and Wales, with which they inosculate, there appears an identity of origin. The sculptures are sacred books, which the awe-inspired worshipper was required to revere and, probably, to salute with reverence. A single circle represented the sun, two circles in union, the sun and moon—Baal and Ashtaroth. The wavy groove passing across the circle pointed to the course of water from the clouds, as discharged upon the earth. Groups of pit marks pointed to the stars, or, more probably, to the oaks of the primeval temples.

At its next stage symbolism is more significant. The prevailing symbol is the double disc or spectacle ornament. The discs are united, not by a groove, but a zig-zag. Not improbably the prototype is an arm

bent at the elbow; the zig-zag developed into a broken spear with floriated terminals.

The crescent is a common symbol. If in the double disc we remark a representation of the sun and moon, in the crescent we recognise the moon only. As a symbol the crescent appeared at first simple and alone, subsequently as penetrated by a zig-zag or broken spear.

At the third stage of archaic art we are presented with zoomorphic figures, also with representations of articles in household use. Among the animals of an oriental type are the serpent and griffin, each impersonating evil; also the Asiatic elephant, embodying sagacity and strength. The serpent pierced by a spear may symbolise that evil has been overcome.

The comb and mirror are symbols associated with women. By the early Celts females were held in honour, as preserving the continuity of families. In the superstitious rites of Hallowe'en a comb and mirror are still used by females as divining symbols. On stone monuments in the Hebrides is represented a mermaid holding a comb and mirror. The mermaid is still regarded in the isles with a superstitious reverence. Associated with the mermaid on Hebridean monuments is the galley of the Scandinavian viking, its prow and stern standing high above the deck, on which are displayed a mast and rigging with furled sails.

According to Camden, Greek traders brought into Britain articles of merchandise about 160 B.C. To this era the introduction of iron may be assigned. When iron became in common use, cremation was superseded by burial in enclosed chambers, in which the bodies were extended at full length. Upon the tombs of chiefs were incised representations of battle-axes and unbarbed shields, and on the tombs of females, scissors in the form of sheep shears—that is, working from a spring.

When Christianity was publicly accepted, sculptural forms underwent a material change. In pre-Christian monuments no symbol was duplicated, and figures were incised and of single lines, without any decorative accessories. Sculptures were engraved on one side only. Dedicating to sacred uses the pillars associated with an archaic creed, the early missionaries adorned them with Christian symbols. The figure of the cross was incised on the walls of caverns, and sculptured on sandstone blocks, which were laid on the graves of notable persons. In the sculptured memorial stone the cross occupied a central place, to which other symbols were subordinated. As archaic sculptures disappeared, there were introduced figures of armed warriors, horses, and war chariots; also of animals in all varieties of shape. Sculptures were no longer incised, but made in relief, and on both sides.

The celtic memorial cross was reared at first to denote prominent fields of missionary labour. Thus were commemorated the ministrations of St Columba, St Cuthbert, St Kentigern, and St Briged. Subsequently the cross was placed to mark boundaries, also to commemorate the virtues of noted chiefs and perpetuate national events. The period of the sculptured stone cross extends from the seventh century to the tenth. Its conception was wholly celtic. Symbol stones are unknown both in the Scottish and Irish Dalriada, also in Saxonia, or the Northumbrian kingdom, which extended to the Forth. The celtic cross was, on the other hand, common to the Irish Celts and the northern Picts—serving to establish their common origin and general identity.

In addition to its distinctive symbolism, the celtic stone cross exhibits a style of ornamentation singularly ornate. In its double and triple roll mouldings, spiral and diagonal figures, and its ribbon and lacustrine patterns may be discovered some traces of the zig-zag, the concentric circle, the wavy groove, the crescent and the double disk. In the interlaced tracery may also be distinguished the willow plaiting of the ancient coracle, the celtic wicker-basket, and the rude framework of the earlier Christian church. Yet the more graceful combinations of the celtic pattern cannot be explained by any

reference to native models. The flowing lines, the flamboyants, and other graceful devices were probably brought into Britain by Etruscan traders, who in quest of amber are known to have sent fleets into Northern Europe from Mediterranean waters.

Inosculating with the celtic memorial cross is that elaborate ornamentation which appears in the Book of Kells and other Irish MSS. Decorative art was from Ireland borne to Iona by St Columba, who by an accomplished scribe, whom he retained, instructed others. As each Columban monastery was founded, a skilled illuminator was placed upon the monastic staff. When Aidan and his brethren penetrated into Northumbria, they carried with them an accomplished scribe, and hence by Saxon hands in the monastery of Lindisfarne were executed those illuminated gospels, with which the history of that institution is so memorably associated.

The decorative art used in adorning MSS. and memorial stones was also applied to metals; it appears on maces and pastoral staves, also on the decorated shrines which encased the hand-bells of Christian missionaries.

By Julius Cæsar we are informed that the Druids made use of the Greek letters. But writing was rarely indulged. On their memory they preserved the metrical chronicles, which they taught sedulously to their disciples. One third of this priestly

order were bards, some of whom composed religious odes, while others in song commemorated their annals. According to Diodorus Siculus, who flourished half a century before the Christian era, the Celtic bards accompanied their verses on an instrument, which resembled the lyre.

From an eastern source the Druids obtained their songs and music. Yet the Phœnicians, from whom they immediately derived, were not musical. May not the coronach sung at cairns, latterly at Christian interments, have proceeded from that people who in captivity at Babylon hung their harps upon the willows? Who in the strains of Ossian may fail to remark the fervent imagery of the Hebrew prophets? These combine the same thrilling words, the same love of nature, similar metaphors, and like forms of speech. Ossian laments that the words of the elder bards had come to him "only by halves." His warriors fight as do "contending winds." Battles dart from his hero's eyes, and upon beams of fire ride the ghosts of the departed virtuous. In the leafless grave of Lochlin, the poet marks "five stones" which guard the warrior's cairn. He sings of "the circle of Loda," and celebrates "the mossy stone of power." Ossian flourished sixteen centuries ago, and Roman legionaries might not subdue his voice. His father, the valiant Fingal, had contended with Caracalla, "Caracul, son of the

king of the world." His son Oscar had fallen in conflict with the emperor Carausius, "Caros, king of ships."

What Ossian in the third Christian century initiated, was by a long line of bards, actively perpetuated. The minstrel survived the ancient priesthood, with which he was associated. Successors of the son of Fingal flourished in the halls of chiefs. Their minstrelsy has perished, but the legends created by their fancy remain.

When Borlase composed his "Antiquities," upwards of a century ago, the Welsh bards assembled yearly at Bala in Merionethshire, where sixty or seventy harpers discoursed music to words of their own composing, though few could write or even read. At the close of the century, there was in the Highlands an organised system of pipe music. Every clan had its minstrel; every chief his bard.

When, in 731, Bede completed his history, the country to the north of the Forth retained its Pictish inhabitants; it was known as Alba or Pictavia. The Scots of Dalriada in Argyle retained their former limits. South of the Forth was Saxonia, with its Teutons; while Galloway in the south-west yet represented the ancient Cimbri. Two centuries later ensued important changes. On the coast had Danes and Norwegians made warlike incursions. Wresting from the Celts the islands of Orkney and

Shetland, they there planted colonies. In the year 794 the monastery of Iona was wrecked by Scandinavian pirates, who thereafter ravaged the adjacent isles, till, becoming masters of the Hebrides, with a portion of the mainland and the Isle of Man, they incorporated the whole into a new kingdom. Impoverished by lengthened conflicts, the Pictish monarchy underwent slow yet sure decay. The red-haired Scots of Dalriada pushed to the east and north. At length, in the tenth century, the entire country was named Scotland. At the court of King Malcolm Canmore, his queen, the Saxon Princess Margaret, introduced the apparel and culture of the south. For the Gaelic tongue, which Scandinavian settlers had used heretofore, Queen Margaret substituted the Saxon speech. During the reigns of her sons Edgar, Alexander, and David, the Teutonic dialect spoken south of the Forth rapidly spread northward, till in the twelfth century the Saxon tongue overspread the eastern lowlands. Under King David, Saxon and Norman families made settlements in the country, while with the money received for royal charters the king reared and endowed great churches. In the twelfth century the kingdom of Strathclyde, and in the thirteenth that of the Isles, owned as sovereign the Scottish king. The Celts retired to the uplands; those who lingered became serfs or labourers.

CHAPTER II.

DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL USAGES.

In the Loch of the Clans in the county of Nairn, out of which the water has been drained, appears an oval chamber, enclosed by a stone wall; this seems to have been lined with wood. The roof and floor were of undressed oak. The crannog had begun to merge into the castle.

The structure in the Loch of the Clans presents a wall twenty feet in extreme width, while the interior chamber is eighteen feet long, sixteen broad, and ten high. These measurements point to its existence at or before the Roman period. But the Celts reared forts of timber long afterwards. If we except the *burghs* and *caers*, latterly built of stone, the chief strongholds were up to the tenth century formed of logs. Forts and great houses of timber existed in Morayshire till the thirteenth century. Mansions and strongholds of stone began to prevail in the eleventh century. Prior to the war of independence, the state of architecture in Scotland and England was nearly identical.

In an interesting publication, the Marquess of Bute

has described the manor-house of the thirteenth century as "a tower of massive strength, about three or four storeys high, with one room on each storey; the ground floor a vaulted cellar, the first floor a sort of general kitchen and living-room, with stone vaulting between or above them; then the single private chamber, appropriated to the lady of the house and her family; the whole crowned with a high-pitched roof, covered with shingle, through which the shaft or shafts of the chimneys pierced up into the air. The hall," adds the Marquess, "was the main feature of houses of this period; and indeed, besides the ordinary offices of stables, byres, store-houses, and such like, and a larder or pantry—doubtless near the kitchen, there seem to have been only two domestic apartments of any importance—the kitchen and the private chamber—for the use of the family."[1]

The Border and other towers of the fourteenth century were, in the lower walls, twelve feet thick. There was a lower room or vault in which cattle were kept safe against marauding hordes. Access to the dwelling was obtained by a ladder which was thrown down from an entrance on the second floor; the place was otherwise impregnable. By a circular newelled staircase within the walls were reached the upper rooms. At all points the structure presented em-

[1] "The Early Days of Sir William Wallace," by John, Marquess of Bute, Paisley, 1876, 4to, p. 31.

brasures or narrow loop-holes for admitting light, and, in the event of attack, for discharging upon the assailants arrows or musketry.

Ground-floor apartments were vaulted; the upper rooms also were occasionally arched. The doors were backed by ponderous interlaced or cross-barred iron gates, secured by bolts, which passed into the wall. In Norman structures, timber was unused. Slates also were absent, the roof being constructed of stone. By means of a small opening in the substance of the wall, proceeding from the lower storey to the hall or family room, communication with the kitchen was maintained by rope and pulley.

The fortified towers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries lack ornament, being formed solely with a view to strength. Like the latter *burghs* or stone dwellings, castles were constructed with subterranean or vaulted passages. By a vaulted passage in the Castle of Kildrummy, the horses of that fort could, during a siege, be conveyed for water to a neighbouring loch. Every fort had a draw-well. The well usually occupied the centre of the court; at an earlier period it was dug under the tower, from which water was by pulleys brought direct into the hall. Sculptured fountains were occasionally reared; one of these, in the court of Linlithgow Palace, was especially ornate.

Some castles of the fifteenth century were made

to enclose an area of three and four acres. The larger structures stood near the banks of lakes or rivers, and were otherwise environed by ditch and rampart. Castellated structures, such as Glammis Castle, may not be identified with any particular age. From dark, low, round-roofed vaults, thick walls, and narrow orifices in the lower storey, they in the upper apartments, pass into the castellated style of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In fortified structures of the fifteenth century, are included a great hall with an arched roof; also ranges of corridors and passages and vaults, strong, deep, and gloomy.

With the sixteenth century, Scottish native architecture began to blend the sterner features of the French and Flemish styles. Dwellings hitherto built of mud and timber, were reared of stone; these varying in height from three to twelve storeys. Houses of the latter height were placed at Edinburgh along the lofty ridge proceeding from the rock-fenced fortalice to Holyrood Palace. Subsequently prevailed the French style with its princely towers, coronetted turrets, sharp gables, dormer windows, and richly decorated mouldings.

In the English manor-house, plastering and whitewashing of interior stone-work were common in the thirteenth century; in Scotland these modes were not introduced till considerably later. When plaster was introduced the ceilings were ornamented with that

white pargetted work which is found in Moray House, also in the mansions of Pinkie, Winton, and Glammis. These decorations usually represent scriptural or classic subjects. Till gypsum or plaster of Paris came to be used, the walls of the hall or principal chamber were covered with cloth, of which two folds concealed doors worked in iron, which protected the entrance. On the lower part of the walls wainscotting was adopted; in the fifteenth century it was nearly universal. The walls in the upper parts were by Flemish artists painted in fresco with heraldic devices, or adorned with Arras tapestry. When in the fourteenth century Arras hangings were first imported, they were used in royal residences solely. Deemed precious, they were borne from one palace to another. Royal arras were of wool and silk, interwoven with gold thread; they were embroidered with devices, which included leopards, falcons, and eagles. During the sixteenth century and subsequently, the principal apartments were surrounded with oak, and so long as this style prevailed, the painted decorations of the former period were covered with boards.

The painted Gallery of Pinkie House, 120 feet long, and lighted by a fine oriel window, has its timber-lined walls adorned with Latin and other inscriptions; also with paintings of classic scenes.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, dining-halls and reception rooms were ornamented

with a covering of leather, stamped and gilded. This material, a Spanish invention, was originally imported; it latterly was manufactured at Edinburgh.

Painted glass, though known in the twelfth century, was not used in domestic architecture. The window of the ancient manor-house admitted light and air together. With the view of promoting ventilation, while excluding draughts, windows were ranged high on one side of the apartment. Externally presenting a narrow aperture, they splayed widely towards the interior. If the orifice was large enough to admit intruders, iron bolts or stanchions were built into the wall. Occasionally strong shutters were attached to the outside, which, by a simple contrivance, could be closed and made secure. Prior to the use of glass, a coarse fabric resembling canvas was, both in churches and private houses, stretched across the casements. Glass casements became common in the fourteenth century. Of small weight, they were carried from one dwelling to another; in the portable baggage of the sovereign [1] they were uniformly included. When glass window frames were made stationary, the upper part only was glazed, the lower being supplied with timber folds.

Early domestic furniture was of simple construction. Benches and settles of solid timber were placed along the interior walls. During the fifteenth century

[1] "Treasurer's Accounts," vol. i., preface, cc.-cciii.

these were, in the better houses, covered with arras. The dease or dais, a seat with a support for the back, was occasionally provided with a canopy. One sort of dease, by a process of folding, might be changed into a table. The dining-table was of plain timber, the boards being moveable ; these were in the fifteenth century covered with silk, but afterwards with damask.

In primitive times, the *buist* and *ambry* stood in the principal apartment—the former a plain oaken chest, the latter a cupboard. In the buist were stored superfluous hangings, and the other napery of the household ; the ambry contained the family jewellery. The cupboard was pioneer of the modern sideboard ; an erect open cabinet, on its shelves rested the house-property, both in gold and silver. From the top, under a canopy of carved oak, were suspended tapestry or arras.

There were other articles, such as the *boyne* or *bowie,* for storing liquor ; the *bossie,* a large wooden dish ; the *mawn,* a bread basket ; the *bankour,* or wool cushion for chairs of state ; and the *dorseur,* or wall-covering.

Among the officers of the royal household was a keeper of the wardrobe. Assisted by yeomen and grooms, he bore the contents of the wardrobe and cupboard in the royal progresses.

The bedsteads which, in the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries, were used by the king and barons, were magnificent and costly. To their large frames, richly carved by foreign artists, were affixed hangings of embroidered silk. According to a notable tourist, Scottish bedsteads in the sixteenth century "were like cupboards in the wall, with doors."[1] Blankets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were of fustian; sheets of fine linen. Bed-pillows were covered with silk or fur or cloth of gold. The beds were of flock, but more commonly of the skins of animals, spread upon heath or rushes. The bed which Lord Darnley occupied at Kirk o' Field, at the time of his death, in 1567, was of violet velvet, with double hangings, braided with gold and silver.

Officers of the royal household and the chief attendants on the nobles had bedsteads carried into their apartments each evening, and from thence removed before breakfast.

Baths were introduced by the Romans, and were used in North Britain at an early period. They were common in the thirteenth century. Moveable baths, with canopies and hangings, were in the sleeping apartments of the opulent introduced two centuries later. Wash-hand stands, surmounted by tanks, were placed in bedrooms.

Prior to the fifteenth century fire-grates were

[1] "An Itinerary, written by Fynes Moryson, Gent." London, 1617, fol. p. 156. Moryson was in Scotland in 1598.

unknown; the smoke which issued from the fire on the hearth found egress by a wide opening in the wall which narrowed towards the roof. Fires were in superior dwellings formed of logs and broom. Broom was used chiefly in the kitchen; it was planted near the principal homesteads, and every seven years was cut down for fuel. It was then built in stacks, each stack containing twelve cart-loads.[1] Peats were used in farmers' houses, also by the poor.

Coal was first worked by the monks of Newbattle, in Midlothian. To the monks Leger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, granted the coalfield situated between the burn of Whytrig and the lands of Pontekyn and Inveresk. As de Quinci was created Earl of Winchester about 1210 and died in 1219, the date of the gift is ascertained. The coal originally showed itself on the surface of the sea-cliff, and the seam was followed wherever the level allowed. The monks of Dunfermline soon afterwards worked coal in their lands of Pinkie and Inveresk.[2] But "black stone," as coal was at first called, was for more than a century after its discovery burnt chiefly by the peasantry. Ad-

[1] In 1750 green broom sold for three shillings per cart-load; it was then used solely for kindling.

[2] "Sketches of Early Scotch History," by Cosmo Innes. Edinburgh, 1861. 8vo, pp. 131-133.

mitted into the manor-house as kitchen fuel, it was, when logs became rare, consequent on the plantations being cut down, brought into the hall. At length the demand so increased beyond the power of inexperienced miners to procure a steady supply that the cost became excessive, and the Privy Council fixed the price at seven shillings per horse-load. This occurred in 1621, but consequent on resistance by the coal-owners, the provision was modified. On the introduction of coal followed the invention of the fire-grate.

The fire-grate was at first placed in the centre of the hearth; fireplaces of stately proportions were subsequently constructed. These were profusely adorned with graceful mouldings, also emblazoned with the family arms and grotesque figures. At the fireplaces of plastered rooms were presented rich sculptures, bordered by pillars supporting human figures extending upward to the ceiling. The Earl of Stirling's manor-house at Stirling, in 1632, displayed in its oak-panelled hall a massive chimney-piece profusely gilded. The houses of the principal merchants of the seventeenth century were ornamented with neatly carved chimney-pieces. Not infrequently were the designs incorporated with the initials of the owner and his wife, along with family mottoes and Scriptural maxims. Lengthy inscriptions, in prose and verse, immediately over the fireplace, were not

uncommon. An English tourist remarked the following quaint poetical inscription over a fireplace, with the date 1694 :—

"As with the fire,
So with thy God do stand ;
Keep not far off,
Nor come thou too near hand."

In districts remote from the coalfields peat fuel was procured in the marshes. The farmers of the Abbey of Cupar were bound to dig peats, and to convey them to the monastery ; they also stored the abbey granaries with decayed roots and fallen branches. For "the ovens of the monastery" the monks of Cupar cultivated a park of broom in the vicinity.[1]

Domestic state was much observed. In the fifteenth century the royal household had as chief officers the master, the steward, the treasurer, and the comptroller. Other prominent officials were the carver, the cupbearer, the eleemosynar, the armourer, the physician, and the apothecary. An establishment of corresponding dignity existed in the manor-house. Each baron and knight had squires of attendance, carvers, servers, cupbearers, henchmen and pages. Many of these were young persons of birth, as early service under one of higher rank was agreeable to the laws of chivalry.[2] In his castle or *keep* the Highland chief

[1] "Rental Book of the Abbey of Cupar." Grampian Club 1879-80. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. II., xvi. xix. 168.

[2] "Treasurer's Accounts," Vol. I., preface, cxc., cxci.

of the fifteenth century accommodated his henchman or secretary, his bard, his spokesman, his sword-bearer, his carrier-over-fords, the leader of his horse, his baggage-bearer, and his principal piper. The henchman was an indispensable officer at a period when leaders of clans disdained to use an instrument so feeble as the pen, and were not ashamed to confess an entire ignorance of letters. Those duties which the henchman discharged with the pen, the bard fulfilled by his voice; he sang old ballads and composed new, each tending to induce the chief to emulate the piety and the generosity, but more especially the gallantry of his ancestors. The bard's office was hereditary; be was allowed a portion of land, in the best cultivated portion of the estate.

In Galloway, the dignity of territorial magnates was, up to the commencement of the eighteenth century, ceremoniously maintained. In his "MS. History of an Ayrshire Manse Household," Professor Josiah Walker remarks, that Sir Archibald Kennedy, Bart. of Culzean, "maintained the establishment of a great hereditary chief of the elder days, with his hall and chapel, and host of retainers."

In ancient Scotland, venison was among the upper classes held in much regard. The hart was shot with arrows or hunted down with a rough greyhound, known as the deerhound. When the pursuit of game had menaced the extermination of the deer, the Act

of 1367 was passed, whereby the striking down of game—both beasts and birds—with culverings, cross-bows, and hand-bows was prohibited.[1]

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the abbot and monks of Cupar reared their own cattle, and in addition to money and grain, received as rent from their tenants, calves, lambs, hogs, and kids ; also geese, capons, and other domestic fowls. Through their fowlers, the monks of Cupar secured for their larder the wild-goose, the crane or swan, the partridge, the plover, the dottrel, the curlew, the wild-duck, the red-shank, the lapwing, and the teal.[2] Rabbit warrens under charge of "warrenders," were preserved everywhere. In these hares and rabbits were secured as food for the inhabitants of towns or the better class of yeomen. The bittern, heron, solan-goose, and other coarse birds, were allowed to the peasant and the wayfarer. Taylor, the water poet, who visited Scotland in 1618, in describing the food of nobles and knights whom he accompanied in hunting, mentions "venison, baked, sodden, roast, and stewed ; mutton, goats, kid, hares, fresh salmon, pigeons, hens, capons, chickens, partridge, moor-cocks, heath-cocks, capercailzies, and termagants." The capercailzie was found in Perthshire in 1651, but

[1] "Acta Parl. Scot.," iii. 26.

[2] "Rental Book of the Abbey of Cupar," II., 203. 241. 254, and *passim*.

soon thereafter disappeared, till restored in our own time in the Breadalbane plantations.[1]

Fish abounded in estuaries, lochs, and rivers. In the thirteenth century were supplied to the royal table salmon, the royal sturgeon, the lamprey, and the porpoise, both fresh and cured. In 1424 an Act was passed prohibiting the slaying of salmon from the Feast of the Assumption (15th August) until the Feast of Saint Andrew (30th November). Herrings from the western, and eels from inland lochs were especially valued. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shell-fish was much in use. At the banquet which followed the baptism of Prince Henry at Stirling Castle in 1594 were presented herrings, whitings, and flounders, along with "oysters, buckies, limpets, partans (lobsters), crabs, spout-fish, and clamms."[2] Prior to the fifteenth century, colonies of fishers from Flanders effected settlements at St Andrews, Auchmithie, Findon, and other localities on the east sea-board; also at Cellardyke, Buckhaven, and Newhaven, on the Firth of Forth. Their descendants retain some peculiar habits, including a reluctance to unite with other races.

[1] Innes's "Early Scotch History," Edin., 1861, 8vo, p. 387.

[2] "A True Repartarie of the most triumphant and royal accomplishment of the Baptism of Frederick-Henry, Prince of Scotland, solemnised the 30 day of August 1593." Edinburgh: R. Waldegrave.

Prior to the sixteenth century, Scottish culinary utensils were rudely constructed. At table, the nobility and gentry used knives and spoons only. The dinner fork was not quite common at the Union of the Crowns. The ordinary dinner knife was known as the *Jockteleg*, so called from its original manufacturer, John of Liege. When in the seventeenth century knives and forks were deemed essential to comfort, ministers and physicians carried pocket knives and forks folded in leathern cases. After use in eating, these were wiped with the table napkin, and replaced in the pocket. Dessert knives and forks of silver were also made portable; gentlewomen carried them in their reticules.

At the dawn of history the drinking vessels were of shell. In the third century Ossian refers to potent liquor as "the strength of the shells," and as composing "the shell of joy." He refers to "shells studded with gems." From the ninth century till the twelfth, drinking vessels were composed of horn and timber. The methir, a wooden vessel from six to twelve inches high, and containing from one to three pints, was used anciently both in Scotland and Ireland. Including a handle at each side, it was cut out of the solid timber, the bottom being inserted in a groove. A silver-mounted methir is preserved in Dunvegan Castle. Pewter drinking vessels were used in the fourteenth century;

also silver tankards. Thereafter were used goblets or bowls, known as skales. The tassie, or cup, was common in the seventeenth century. In the houses of *bonnet lairds* and tenant farmers glass vessels were even a century ago rarely to be found. A liquor-loving border laird, Armstrong of Sorbie, who flourished early in the eighteenth century, facetiously remarked that "it was a better world when there were more bottles and fewer glasses."

The furniture used in the sixteenth century and subsequently is represented in the public inventories. In the lease by Alexander Macbroke of the abbot of Cupar's seat at Campsie Craig, dated 6th July 1551, the lessee becomes bound, on twenty-four hours' notice, to provide for the abbot and his brethren and household, four feather beds and four other beds, along with towels and table-linen, broom and other fuel. He also pledges himself to furnish "pottis, pannis, platis, dischis, and utheris necessarys."[1]

James Campbell of Lawers, a considerable landowner in the county of Perth, died in 1723. His principal apartments were adorned with arras, of which the most costly set are valued at £24 sterling; "blue and yellow hangings" in his own chamber are estimated at £10. The hangings are described as of "damask" and of "Musselburgh stuff." Five

[1] "Rental Book of the Abbey of Cupar," ii. 68-71.

bedsteads with curtains are valued at £36 each. "Seven tables big and small," with "two kitchen tables," are unitedly valued at £7, these being of native timber. Chairs are estimated at one guinea each; some are described as "black-coloured," others as of "leather," others as "in kain." Chests of drawers were usually adorned with carvings. Two chests at Lawers are together valued at £60. The silver plate included "fifteen silver spoons, a large silver gravy spoon, a porringer (soup basin), two salters, six forks, six knives, two servers (salvers), and three casters" (cruet vessels). These together, deducting the knife-handles, weighed 9 lbs. 10½ ounces, which, valued at five shillings an ounce, brought a total amount of £421, 10s. Many of the culinary articles, also the bedroom ware, were of pewter. Mr Campbell's watch and gold seal, together with his wife's earrings, are valued at £240. Among the articles of napery are included thirty-five table napkins.[1]

In Celtic times the chief and his family sat in the great hall at a central table; their dependants, armed as if on guard, forming a wider circle, and regaling themselves on long benches raised very slightly above the ground. At table all were waited upon by boys and girls. When eating was finished, the chief called for a glass of liquor, when all drank. At these feasts women were duly honoured, and were allowed to leave

[1] "Dunblane Commissariot Register," vol. xviii.

early. During the entertainment bards repeated their compositions, using the harp to serious airs, the pipe to those which were mirthful.

In the fourteenth century the king and barons had two principal meals—dinner and supper. The former was served at eleven o'clock A.M., the latter at five P.M. Queen Mary dined at noon ; her husband, Lord Darnley, when alone, dined at two. Queen Mary was supping in Holyrood Palace on the 9th March 1566 between five and six o'clock, when in her presence David Rizzio was assailed and slain. James VI. dined at one o'clock.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the chief citizens of Edinburgh dined at one P.M. Two o'clock was the fashionable dining hour a century ago. From 1806 to 1820 gentlemen of rank dined at five ; at six up to 1840, and from that date till 1860, at half-past six and seven. Latterly the genteel dining hour has been fixed in winter at half-past seven, and in summer at eight o'clock. The present dinner hour in "good" society is half-past seven.

The gong which for a century has intimated that dinner has been served, had its precursor in the trumpet or horn. During the seventeenth century, when dinner was announced, the ladies proceeded from the drawing-room together, the gentlemen in single file following them. When all had reached the dining-room, each gentleman selected a lady as his associate

and took a seat at her right hand. An attendant then handed to each guest a silver basin, another following with towels. The ceremony of dipping the fingers in water was repeated when dinner had closed. In the earlier times two persons ate together from the same plate. Anciently of wood, the plates were afterwards of pewter, latterly earthenware became universal. When less gentility was affected, each guest received as his platter a barley bannock, which at the close of the entertainment he thrust into an alms-basket which was carried round. Anciently one drinking vessel sufficed for the more costly liquors, and it was passed from hand to hand.

James I. (1424-1437) employed a French cook, but the cuisine at his court has not been ascertained. For some particulars as to the mode of dining in genteel society at the latter part of the sixteenth century, we are indebted to Moryson, the English traveller. Moryson, who visited Scotland in 1598, remarks that the Scots "eat much red colewort and cabbage, but little fresh meat, using to salt their mutton and geese, which made me more wonder that they used to eat beefe without salting." . . . He adds, "Myself was at a knight's house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meat with their heads covered with blew caps, the table being more than half furnished with great platters of porridge, each having a little piece

of sodden meate. And when the table was served, the servands did sit downe with us, but the upper messe, instead of porridge, had a pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no art of cookery or promotion of household stuffe, but rather rude neglect of both, though myself and my companion, sent from the Governour of Barwick about bordering affaires, were entertained after their best manner. . . . They vulgarly ate harth cakes of oates, but in cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by courtiers gentlemen and the best sort of citizens. . . . They drink pure wines, not with sugar as the English, yet at feasts they put comfits in the wine, after the French manner, but they had not our vintners fraud to mix their wines."[1]

On the 23d May 1590, the Danish gentlemen who to this country had attended Anne, Queen of James VI., were entertained by the magistrates of Edinburgh at a formal banquet. The feast was celebrated in a hall in the Cowgate belonging to the Master of the Mint, and of which the walls were hung with tapestry. But while the tables were decorated with elegant napery and "flowers and chandlers," and there was a display of great vessels, and the contents of the city "cupboards," the viands consisted of "bread and meat, with

[1] Moryson's "Itinerary," Part iii. p. 15.

four binns [casks] of beer, four gang of ale, and four puncheons of wine." [1]

In the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century a genteel dinner was constituted in this fashion :—Barley-broth was served first; it consisted of the liquor of beef, boiled with colewort and thickened with barley. The beef was rough-grained, since cattle were fed only on the natural grasses. Colewort raised without manure was, when imperfectly boiled, somewhat unpalatable. Neither milled nor scaled, pot barley was bruised in a trough, rubbed with a coarse cloth, and partially winnowed. All sorts of fish were in use, save salmon and grilse, which, deemed common, were reserved for exportation or preserving. Cabbie-claw, consisting of cod-fish served with horse-radish and egg-sauce, was in high favour. Oysters and other shell-fish were welcomed. A goose and ducklings and baked pigeons were much relished. Greatly in request was friar-chicken, a dish formerly common in religious houses; it consisted of chickens cut into small portions, and boiled with eggs, parsley, and cinnamon. Equally popular was cocky-leeky—a well-fed cock boiled with young leeks. Mutton boiled with cauliflowers, turnips, and carrots, was held as a special delicacy. Roasted fare was uncommon, since the only instrument used in broiling

[1] Chambers's "Domestic Annals," i. 199.

was a spit, turned by the younger handmaiden, and occasionally by a dog. The entertainment was followed up by a haggis, marrow-bones, cheese, and fruit. In the kitchens of Highland chiefs, venison was prepared for the table in a fashion revolting to modern tastes. The use of fire was dispensed with, steaks or slices being compressed between two battens of wood, so as to force out the blood.

During dinner, liquor was used sparingly. So long indeed as the ladies remained in the dining-hall excess was eschewed. But there was a *signal toast*, on the proposing of which the ladies withdrew. Eighty years ago, the signal toast at Glasgow was "the trade of Glasgow and *the outward bound*;" in Fife, when a Lady Balgonie was a celebrated toast, the travesty "Lady *be-gone-ye*" was adopted. Few guests remained sufficiently sober to rejoin the ladies in the drawing-room—those who restrained drinking, and returned to their female friends, were pronounced effeminate.

Moryson relates that on his visit to Scotland in 1598 he found that the country people and merchants were inclined to excess, and that persons of the better sort spent the greater part of the night in drinking "not only wine, but even beere."[1]

Referring to the convivial practices of the last century, Dr John Strang writes, "The retiring of a guest

[1] Moryson's "Itinerary," Part iii. 156.

to the drawing-room was a rare occurrence indeed; and hence the poor lady of the house was generally left to sip her tea in solitude, while her husband and friends were getting royal over their sherbet."[1] A century ago, post-prandial talk was rough and unseemly, while the songs and tales sung or spoken were utterly licentious. When the ladies had left a punch-bowl was brought in. In form and capacity this vessel resembled the English wassail-bowl. It was in early times charged with mulled claret, but its contents latterly consisted of whisky mixed with hot water and sugar. Whisky was introduced in the bowl at the rate of half a pint for each guest. The liquor was mixed with a silver spoon affixed to a whalebone handle. The contents of the ladle corresponded with the size of the drinking vessel, which was considerably larger than those now in use. The use of punch bowls ceased about sixty years ago; thereafter each one was allowed to prepare his liquor in his own mode. Crystal goblets with silver ladles, or earthenware mugs with a small crystal pestle were substituted.

To each toast a bumper was demanded; while, in evidence that it had been drunk, every guest turned up his glass. "To drink fair" or "without hedging" was a special commendation. Toasts were

[1] "Glasgow and its Clubs," by John Strang, LL.D. Glasgow: 1857, p. 42.

numerous. On public and political occasions the Sovereign, the Army, and Cabinet Ministers, also local magnates were toasted with Highland honours. In rendering these honours, each guest, glass in hand, mounted his chair, and placing his right foot on the table named the toast,—then drinking off his glass cheered lustily. Sentimental toasts, to each of which a glass was drained, were such as these, "May ne'er waur be amang us," "The Land o' Cakes," "Horn, corn, wool, and yarn," "May the honest heart never feel distress," "May the mouse ne'er leave the meal-pock wi' the tear in its e'e," "May the pleasures of the evening bear the reflections of the morning." In some companies the ladies were privileged before retiring to share in a species of toast-giving, which occasioned merriment. At the call of the host one of the company named an unmarried lady; another guest named a suitor for her, and both were toasted together.

During the seventeenth, and the earlier portion of the eighteenth century, after-dinner drinking was protracted for eight and ten hours. When a bachelor gave an entertainment he was expected to continue the jollities till all his guests were helplessly intoxicated. In 1643 Henry Lord Ker, only son of Robert, first Earl of Roxburgh, died at Perth "after ane great drink." His premature death led to the famous lawsuit of 1808-1812, the

result of which gave the Dukedom of Roxburgh to Sir James Innes. In his "Journal" Lord Cockburn relates an anecdote communicated to him by the celebrated Henry Mackenzie. "Mackenzie," his Lordship proceeds, "was once at a festival at Kilravock Castle, towards the close of which the exhausted topers sank gradually back and down on their chairs till little of them was seen above the table except their noses, and at last they disappeared altogether and fell on the floor. Those who were too far gone to rise lay still from necessity; while those who, like the Man of Feeling, were glad of a pretence for escaping fell into a dose from policy. While Mackenzie was in this state he was alarmed by feeling a hand working about his throat, and called out. A voice answered "Dinna be feared, sir, it's me." "And who are you?" "A'm the lad that louses the craavats."[1] When, at a later period, Grant of Lurg was dining at Castle Grant, he was heard soliloquizing on his way from the dining-room, "Oich! Oich! this is the first time she ever dined at Castle Grant, and was able to gae up the stair by hersel'!"

At the country mansion, when guests had come from a distance, and were expected to tarry for the night, convivialities were protracted till early

[1] "Journal of Henry Cockburn." Edinburgh, 1874. Vol. II., 67.

morn. On these occasions all were borne to their bedrooms by stout attendants retained for this service. The attendants were recompensed by vails, or gratuities, offered by retiring guests. That each visitor might have an opportunity of tendering a valedictory offering, the attendants waited in the hall in single file. Vail-tendering was a costly office, and those gentry whose rent-roll did not justify the bestowal of handsome largesses after a feast, declined invitations and remained at home. At length the evil increased to an extent which rendered the possibility of accepting hospitality the privilege of only a few. A farce called "High Life below Stairs" was, about the year 1750, produced on the boards at Edinburgh. The scourge of satire applied to their exactions aroused the footmen to desperation. Seventy of their number subscribed a missive addressed to the manager of the theatre, informing him that in order to suppress the satire they had resolved to make strong sacrifices. When the farce was again produced they, by a noisy demonstration, interrupted the performance. But their combination was repressed; and while already the landed gentry of a great northern county had prohibited their servants from accepting vails the gentlemen of Edinburgh issued similar commands. For a century vail-giving has ceased.

The last act of manorial hospitality was enacted

on the lawn. Lawns wonderfully resembled each other. Decorations were in the Dutch fashion—plants of holly and box being shaped into grotesque figures of men and animals. In front of each mansion was on the lawn constructed a platform of masonry—*the loupin'-on stane.* From this stone gentlemen mounted their horses, and as they did so were supplied with the *doch-an-dorius,* or stirrup-cup. Drunk from a quaich,[1] or wooden cup, it was otherwise known as a bonalay, from the French *bonne allée.*

The bibulous propensities of burghal and rural magnates were a source of constant disquietude. Ministers and elders inveighed against their practices, as in a more formal manner did Presbyteries and Synods and other public bodies. In 1625, the Town Council of Aberdeen ordained that no person should, at any public or private meeting, presume to compel his neighbour at table with him to drink more wine or beer than what he pleased, under the penalty of forty pounds.[2] This edict was needful, since for many years prior to its being passed compulsory drinking was rampant. To prevent "shirking," or reluctance to drink, a rule obtained in Perthshire that if the glass was not emptied the offending guest was compelled to drink to the same toast a

[1] A timber bowl with two ears.

[2] "Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen," i. p. 176.

second time from a full glass which was presented to him. The practice was called "Keltie's mends." Some hosts got the feet struck from their wine-glasses. Mr William Maule, of Panmure, late in the eighteenth century, locked the door upon his guests, and then passed round bottles so constructed that they could not stand; as these could pass only from hand to hand drinking was continuous. Another Forfarshire laird who had followed his guest, a London merchant, to his bedroom with a bottle and glass, was met with the remark that his "hospitality bordered upon brutality."[1]

Fashion imposed strong fetters. An anecdote is related of a dinner at Foss in Perthshire, given on a Sunday afternoon, being protracted till the sound of the church bell on the morning of the following Sunday awoke the party to reflection. At Cambo, Fifeshire, a branch of the noble house of Erskine maintained a perpetual dinner party, from which guests might retire, subsequently to return. When Colonel Monypenny of Pitmilly was about to proceed to India to take command of his regiment, he called at Cambo to express an adieu. Mr Erskine was at dinner; but the Colonel, who was invited to join the party, speedily retired. On his return from India, four years afterwards, the Colonel again waited

[1] Dean Ramsay's "Reminiscences of Scottish Life," 20th ed., 1871, p. 55.

on Mr Erskine, who was still dining. Unconscious of his friend's long absence, he asked the Colonel to "take his chair, and pass round the bottle." These convivial practices, now difficult to realize, were common in rural mansions in the days of our grandfathers.

About a century ago a custom prevailed at Edinburgh known as "saving the ladies." When after any fashionable assembly the male guests had conducted their fair partners to their homes, they returned to the supper-room. Then one of the number would drink to the health of the lady he professed specially to admire, and in so doing empty his glass. Another gentleman would name another lady, also drinking a bumper in her honour. The former would reply by swallowing a second glass to his lady, followed by the other, each combatant persisting till one of the two fell upon the floor. Other couples followed in like fashion. These drinking competitions were regarded with much interest by gentlewomen, who next morning enquired as to the prowess of their champions. By the famous Henry Erskine this degrading practice was stoutly resisted. He composed in ridicule of it a scourging satire, which thus concluded—

> "So the gay youth, at midnight's frolick hour
> Stung by the truant love's all-conquering power,
> Vows from damnation her he loves to save,
> Or on the floor to find an early grave;

Among the table's feet supine to lie,
And for Miss Molly's sake to drink or die."[1]

At every social meeting imprecation was common. Lord Cockburn remarks, that swearing was, in his youth, deemed "the right and mark of a gentleman." "The naval chaplain," he adds, "justified his cursing the sailors, because it made them listen to him. In the army it was universal by officers towards soldiers; and far more frequent than is now credible by masters towards servants."[2] The heir who swore lustily at the feast celebrating his majority, was regarded as possessing a jocund nature and amiable manners. "A young Scots woman," writes Dean Ramsay, "while lamenting that her brother used oaths, added, apologetically, 'Nae dout it is a great aff-set to conversation.'" A century ago, Lady Wallace, sister of the celebrated Jane Duchess of Gordon, produced several dramas, which contained passages so freely expressed, that they were refused the Lord Chamberlain's license.

For their own convenience and that of their guests, Highland chiefs provided hostelries, or places of entertainment, in convenient centres. To the laird of Glenurchy, in the sixteenth century, Hew Hay and Cristiane Stennes undertook to keep a hostelry at

[1] "Life of Hon. Henry Erskine," by Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Fergusson. Edin., 1882; 8vo, pp. 116, 117.

[2] "Lord Cockburn's Memorials," p. 32.

Cagell, "with sufficient ale, and bread and other furnishing, at all times in readiness to serve the country."[1] By religious houses, *hospices* were in the adjacent towns leased on condition that strangers as well as their own members might be lodged and entertained. By the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar were owned two hospices at Perth and one at Dundee. The Abbey also provided "spitals" or houses of refreshment in isolated localities. These were leased with the condition that food and provender were kept for man and horse.[2] James V., in 1535, enjoined innkeepers to supply flesh, fish, bread, and ale at the usual rates; also to provide proper stabling.[3] During the eighteenth century, bargain-making was negotiated chiefly in the taverns. There, too, lawyers met their clients, and physicians advised with their patients. At Patrick Steil's tavern in the High Street of Edinburgh, politicians assembled in 1706 to devise measures against the Union. In the public inns at Edinburgh, gentlewomen, a century ago, accompanied their male friends to oyster suppers.

From the Thane of Cawdor's narrative of his travelling expenses in 1591, we obtain some particu-

[1] Innes's "Sketches of Early Scotch History," Edin., 1861, p. 385.

[2] "Rental Book of Abbey of Cupar," vol. i. xlvii. 145; vol. ii. viii. 64, 206.

[3] Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland," iii. 575-1.

lars as to the charges at inns during the sixteenth century. For a quart of ale the thane paid 2s.; for a quart of wine, 13s. 4d.; for a mutchkin of whisky, 5s. A wheaten loaf cost him 8d. His bedroom per night was charged 6s. 8d. The cook, porter, and chamber-maid severally demanded 6s. 8d. for four days' attendance. For the same period of service the waiter was paid 15s.[1]

Epicurism was repressed. In 1551, "in order to the eschewing of dearth," it was provided that the lieges should be restricted in diet, each according to his degree. To an archbishop and earl were allowed eight dishes of meat; to abbots, lords, priors, and deans, six; to barons and freeholders, four; to burgesses, three. The prohibition of flesh during the season of Lent, though ignored by Presbyterians, was by the Privy Council periodically renewed. On the 12th February 1561, the Council ordained that "none of his Graces lieges tak upon hand to eit ony flesche in ony tyme heireftir, quhill the said xxix. day of Marche next to cum, except sik persons as ar vesit with extreme sicknes."[2] To the prohibition a preamble sets forth "that in the spring of the yeir called Lentyme, all kyndis of flesche debilitattis and decayis and growis out of seasoun that thai ar nocht

[1] Innes's "Sketches of Early Scottish History," 1861, 8vo, pp. 523-527.

[2] Acta Parl. Scot., ii. 488.

than meit for eating ; and als, that be the tempestuous stormys of the last winter and utheris precedand, the hale gudis are sa trakit, smorit, and deit, that the prices of the flesche ar rissin to sik extreme derth that the like has nocht bene sene within this realme ; and gif sik derth continue it will be to the greit hurte of the commone weill thairof." In March 1567, the Act was repeated, on the plea that "it is convenient for the commoun weill that thai [animals] be sparit during that tyme, to the end that thai may be mair plenteous and bettir chaip the rest of the yeir."[1] Inasmuch as "throw troubles past and the insolence and delicacie of sundry folkes the law has been contempnit and planelie violat thir diverse years bipast,"[2] the Privy Council repeated the enactment in 1574. It was continued from 1576 to 1578, but licenses were granted to particular families, dispensing with the restriction. In February 1585 all licences were revoked, and decree was given that none further should be granted without a testimonial subscribed "be ane phisitioin and twa honest witnesses of the aige, seiknes or infirmitie of the persones sutaris."[3] Proclamation was, in February 1586, made at Edinburgh, prohibiting the cooking or eating

[1] "Register of the Privy Council of Scotland," vol. i. pp. 200, 611.

[2] Ibid. ii. 337, 500, 593.

[3] Ibid. iii. 722.

of flesh in "tyme of Lentren, also upon Wednesdayis, Frydayis, and Satirdayis."[1]

The prohibitory enactment was in force in 1635, for in that year a license, subscribed by the Lords of Exchequer, was granted to Thomas Forbes of Watertoun, and his spouse, servants, and guests, permitting them to eat flesh in Lent, also on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays weekly "for the space of one year."[2]

Assemblies of the lieges for political purposes were disallowed. But social gatherings were much in vogue. The birth of an heir to an estate was, by the tenantry and domestics, celebrated for a course of days. When a member of the laird's family was about to leave home, he received his *foy* (*feu-de-joie*), that is, his parents handed him a sum of money to be expended in entertaining his friends. The majority of an heir was a chief occasion of festivity. At a succession banqueting was limitless.

One could not be properly invested in his ancestral inheritance without the verdict of a jury, the formalities attendant upon which were accompanied by an entertainment. The process of sasine, that is, of giving an heir corporal possession of his lands by the delivery to him or his representative of *eird and*

[1] "Register of the Privy Council of Scotland," vol. iv. p. 49.

[2] Memoranda relating to the Family of Forbes of Waterton, from a MS. of the deceased John Forbes, born 1754. Privately printed at Aberdeen, 1857.

stane, otherwise, earth and stone, was also followed by feasting. About a year after he had got settled in his inheritance, the new landowner gave a great dinner. This was usually accompanied by a noisy demonstration. At Forfar, ninety years ago, succession banquets were closed by athletic exhibitions, the stronger guests attempting to throw the others across the table. Reckless persons would occasionally toss about the furniture and fracture it.

Among the Caledonians the love of music amounted to a passion. A piper is represented among the early sculptures of the abbey of Melrose. This abbey was founded by David I., in 1136, but the sculptures belong to the fourteenth century. To the pipers of David II. was made in 1362 a payment of forty shillings.[1] James I., in his poem of "Peebles to the Play," celebrates bagpipe music in these verses :—

"The bag-pipe blew and they out-threw
Out of the townis untauld ;
Lord ! sic ane schout was thame amang
Quhen they were owre the wald.
* * * *
With that Will Swain came sweitand out
Ane mickle miller man ;
Gif I sall dance, have done, let se
Blaw up the bagpipe than."

In form, the bagpipe ranged from the small instrument of Northumbria with its mild notes through the warlike dron of the northern Highlands, to the higher

[1] Exchequer Rolls, ii., 115.

and perfect forms of the Western Isles. Pipers from England performed at the Scottish Court in 1489, but native pipers were afterwards retained, both by the sovereign and the nobles. During the eighteenth century every considerable Scottish burgh kept a piper as one of its burghal staff. In 1800 a piper is named among the public functionaries at Perth.

There are three hundred pibrochs or pieces of pipe music. Schools for instructing novices in piping, styled "colleges" by Dr Johnson,[1] existed at Skye and Mull, and professional performers enrolled themselves under the government of a chief, who issued rules for their guidance.[2]

In "The Howlat," a poem composed in 1453, twenty-three musical instruments are named; some of these were moved by the breath, others by percussion, others by twanging, others by the bow.[3]

Devoted to the musical arts, James III. invited skilful artists to his court. The lute-player was a prominent officer of his household; he wore a livery of green. To Dr William Rogers, an English musician, eminently proficient in his art, James gave many benefactions; he converted the Chapel Royal at Stirling into a musical college, and constituted him its president. He dubbed him knight, and granted

1 "Journey to the Western Islands," pp. 237-239.

2 "History of the House of Moray," 1827, 4to., p. 275.

3 "The Buke of The Howlat," Edin., 1823, stanza 59.

him a seat in the Privy Council: procedure which disgusted the nobles. At their hands, in 1482, Rogers was with other royal favourites cruelly slain.

Cherishing musical tastes, James IV. endowed the musical college erected by his father. He brought vocalists from Italy, tabroners from France, and harpers and trumpeters from England. A lover of melody, James V. performed exquisitely on the lute, and entertained at his court musicians, both instrumental and vocal. Queen Mary employed a choir in which David Rizzio was bass singer. The queen also retained at court a company of youths who played upon the viol.

The organ or regals existed in the fourteenth century; it is the subject of a sculpture in the abbey of Melrose. The instrument was of two forms, the stationary and portable. The portable instrument, styled the portative, was borne in royal progresses. Stationary regals were placed in churches, and used in worship.[1] Prior to the Reformation, organs of superior construction erected in the principal churches were played by skilful performers with liberal salaries.

The harp was in early use by the Celtic race. In May 1490, an Irish harper received at the king's command, a bounty of eighteen shillings. In 1496 and 1497, James Mylsone the harper, Pate the harper, and Fowlis the harper, and the "harper with a (one)

[1] Treasurer's Accounts.

hand" were rewarded for playing at court.[1] Two harps which formerly belonged to John Stewart of Dalguise, Master of the Supreme Court at the Cape of Good Hope, are now in the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. The larger harp is known as *Clarshach Lumanach*, that is, the Lamont Harp; it was brought from Argyllshire by a daughter of the family of Lamont, on her marriage in 1464 with Robertson of Lude. It is thirty-eight inches in length, and in width eighteen and a half inches. There are thirty-two strings and five holes. The box, which is hollowed from one piece of wood, is at the top thirty inches in length and four in breadth. Respecting the other harp, there is a tradition that when Queen Mary was on a hunting excursion in Perthshire in 1563 she presented it to Beatrix, daughter of Gardyn of Banchory, whose family is now represented by Gardyn of Troup. Miss Gardyn married Findla More, from whom the families of Farquharson and Lude descend; the harp fell to the Lude family. The length of this harp is thirty-one inches, and from front to back eighteen inches. On the box and comb are geometrical decorations, accompanied with some fine foliagious scroll work. On the two sides of the bow are circular spaces with figures of animals and other ornaments. On the front of the comb are the remains of nails which fastened decorations, and which are said to

[1] Treasurer's Accounts.

have included Queen Mary's portrait set in jewels.[1] The Scottish harp was at length superseded by the violin, and the sinecure choristers of the Chapel-Royal permanently dispensed with.

A taste for operatic music was created by the Duke of York when, as High Commissioner in 1681-2, he kept court at Holyrood. Though his musical demonstrations were condemned by the Church and denounced by the multitude, they were acceptable to persons of taste, and when the excitement attending the Revolution had allayed, a desire for the renewal of dramatic music grew and prevailed. On the 10th January 1694, one Beck, with several associate musicians, conducted a great concert at Edinburgh. This was followed by the feast of St Cecilia, a concert of vocal and instrumental music held on the 22nd November 1695. On this occasion the performances included pieces by famous Italian masters, such as Corelli and Bassani, which were executed by first and second violins, flutes, and hautbois—the open piece giving seven first violins, five second violins, six flutes, and two hautbois. Of thirty performers, eleven were professional persons, the others being gentlemen amateurs. Of the amateurs, several were expert players on the violin, flute, and harpsichord.[2] Among

[1] "Proceedings of Scottish Society of Antiquaries," Edin., 1881, vol. xv., pp. 10-35.

[2] "Dissertation on the Scottish Music," by W. Tytler, Esq. of Woodhouselee. Archæologia Scotica, i., 469.

the professional musicians were persons destined to become further associated with the national melody.

In creating a taste for music at Edinburgh, Henry Crumbden, a German, was much noted. William Thomson, a young performer at St Cecilia's Feast, produced in 1725, the well known collection of Scottish Songs with music known as *Orpheus Caledonius*. Another performer, Matthew M'Gibbon, had a son William, who produced in 1742 a collection of Scottish tunes, which attained celebrity. Among other ardent promoters of music at the beginning of the eighteenth century were Robert, Lord Colville of Ochiltree, one Steil, landlord of the Cross Keys Tavern, Gordon, a vocalist, and Adam Craig, whose collection of tunes for the harpsichord or spinet, published in 1730, eminently conduced to the progress of melody. In 1728 was formed at Edinburgh the Musical Society of St Mary's Chapel, consisting of seventy members.[1]

At Edinburgh in 1762 two hundred gentlemen contributed to the erection of an assembly room, for the practice of music. This structure, designated St Cecilia Hall, was reared at the junction of the Cowgate with Niddry's Wynd, a locality which was at the time a fashionable centre. In reference to St Cecilia Hall, Lord Cockburn writes: "There have I myself seen most of our literary and fashionable gentlemen, predominating with their side curls, and frills and

[1] Chambers's "Domestic Annals," iii., 89, 139, 432-5.

ruffles, and silver buckles; and our stately matrons stiffened in their hoops and gorgeous satin; and our beauties with high-heeled shoes, powdered and pomatumed hair, and lofty and composite head-dresses. All this was in the Cowgate, the last retreat now-a-days, of destitution and disease."[1]

By Herodian, and other ancient writers, the people of North Britain are described as half-naked. Their unclothed limbs they discoloured with woad; they also painted with mineral pigments. From the fifth century both Celts and Scandinavians made their garments of fleeces. The art of weaving was known in the eighth century. In the reign of David I. (1124-1153), woollen cloth was manufactured in every province.

During the fifteenth century, a desire for superior attire prevailed generally. This induced the enactment by Parliament in 1430 of a sumptuary law, specifying that no person under knightly rank, or having less than two hundred merks of yearly income, should wear clothes made of silk, or adorned with superior furs. And in 1457 the Parliament of James II. declared that "the realme is greatumlie pured throwe sumptous claithing baith of men and women;" it was consequently enacted that "na man within burgh that lives be merchandise, bot gif he be a person constitute in dignitie as alderman, or baillie or uthir gude

[1] Lord Cockburn's "Memorials," p. 29.

worthy men, that ar of the council of the towne and their wives, weare claithes of silk nor costly scarlettis in gownes or furrings with mertrickes." Daughters of traders were not to use gowns "with tailes unfit in length nor furred under, bot on the Halie-daie." Labourers and husbandmen were enjoined to "weare on the wark daye bot gray and quhite, and on the Halie-daie bot licht blew, greene, and redde and their wives richt-swa and courchies of their awin making, and that it exceed not the price of xi pennyes the elne." It is added, "As to the clerkes (clergymen), that nane weare gownes of scarlet, nor furring of mertrikis, bot gif he be ane person constitute in dignitie in cathedral or colledge kirk, or else, that he may spende two hundreth merkes, or great nobiles—or doctoures."

During the fifteenth century and subsequently, male attire consisted chiefly of these articles, a gown, a doublet and hose. These, as accorded with the sumptuary laws, were fashioned in materials of varied quality. A special gown was used on horseback, but ordinary vestments were of two kinds—the *long* and *short*. The long gown was open in front, reached to the feet, was fashioned with or without sleeves, and was gathered round the waist by a girdle. In a long gown of broad cloth were comprehended about five ells—an ell measuring thirty-seven inches—or of narrow cloth, as in velvet, satin, or damask, from

eight to fifteen ells. James V. wore a gown of cloth of gold, which on the hood and front was adorned with 49,500 "orient pearls." Gowns were lined with ermine, also with satin and velvet; and were edged with rich and costly trimmings. The short gown—also the gowns used in riding, were lesser garments, the former embracing from six to nine, and the latter from five and a half to nine ells of narrow cloth.

Like the gown, the doublet was composed of materials suited in quality to the wearer's rank. The sovereign wore a doublet of satin or velvet, also of leather. A close-fitting garment, the doublet might be used without sleeves; a doublet with sleeves was trimmed with small or narrow ribbons. Worn partially open, the doublet had under it a silk waistcoat richly embroidered, and resting upon a stomacher of satin or velvet. Riding, hawking, and hunting coats or doublets and jackets, reaching to the haunches were fashioned for the king and courtiers.

Hose were a species of pantaloons, which fitted closely to the limbs and were attached to the waistcoat by strings or laces tipped with metal, called points. One description of hose covered the feet, with soles attached; others reached to the ankles, others only to the knees, where they were joined by leggings and gaiters. Hose were of varied hue, the right and left sides presenting such contrasted

colours as red and yellow, green and red, or white and black.

In walking out a tippet or short cloak was used. This anciently lay on the shoulders like the modern cape; it was latterly extended till it enclosed the person. A hood was attached.

A disposition on the part of gentlemen of rank to clothe expensively was not readily overcome. At his marriage in 1711, a gentleman of fortune paid £340 Scots for two suits, including a night-gown and a suit to his servant.[1]

Till the period of the Revolution, gentlemen in the lowlands carried walking-swords; highland chiefs wore dirks and pistols. In the unsettled condition of the country the custom may have been permissible, but it was frequently attended with broils.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gentlemen's head-coverings consisted of caps, hats, and bonnets. Caps made of cloth and furnished with flaps to cover the ear, were used in riding; hats were composed of beaver. The *hat-piece*, a coin of James VI., produced in 1591, represents the style of hat used at that period. Bonnets were of scarlet or black cloth, and fitted closely to the head. The feet were protected by sandals, called millings, made of untanned sealskin, worn with the hair-side outwards, and bound to the feet with leather thongs.

[1] Chambers's "Domestic Annals," iii. 571.

During the eighteenth century every gentleman wore a wig, sprinkled with hair-powder. When at night he retired to rest he placed his wig upon a block at his bedroom door, that by the man-servant it might be powdered and dressed. In cities elderly gentlemen wore cocked hats, the younger used velvet caps. To their individual importance some persons invited attention by fringing their hats with gold or silver lace.

Tartan, or chequered woollen cloth, was worn by the Celtic tribes; it was variegated in conformity with the *breacan* or chequer of the several clans or tribes. The name is derived from the French *tiretaine* or *tirtaine*, signifying cheap cloth. Bishop Laing of Glasgow, treasurer of James III., had in 1471 an account for tartan to be used by the King, and for double tartan for the Queen's use. The fabric was used at the court of James V., and six tartan plaids were purchased for Queen Mary in 1562 at the cost of eighteen pounds.

Black clothes were worn only at funerals. The street coat was of blue or gray, or a sort of dingy brown; the waistcoat of a gaudy buff or striped. Shirt ruffles were universal, and were conspicuously displayed. A white cravat enclosed the neck. Drab breeches with white stockings, and shoes with large buckles or boots with tops, enveloped and adorned the limbs. A watch-pocket was

placed in the waistband of the breeches, and to his watch chain or ribbon every gentleman appended his watch key and a large seal. The dignified citizen as he walked abroad strived to maintain an erect position, while in his right hand he grasped a long staff, which he moved forward as if groping his way. In moist weather were worn scarlet cloaks. At the close of the eighteenth century the staff was substituted by the gold-headed cane.

During the last century a gentleman's evening-dress was most imposing. Under a blue or brown coat was worn a vest of white satin. The breeches were of dark silk, joined under the knees by black silk stockings. Wig and whiskers were turned by the curling irons, and sprinkled with fragrant hair-powder.

When Magnus Olafsen, King of Norway, returned from ravaging the western coasts on the death of Malcolm III., he on his return, according to the Sagas, adopted the costume of the islanders, with short krilles and upper wraps, whereby he was called Barelegs.[1]

To our correspondent, Colonel Ross of Cromarty, we are indebted for a correct description of the Highland dress. The Colonel proceeds:—"Their ancient dress was the *breacan feile* or kilted plaid. This

[1] "Ancient Scottish Weapons," by James Drummond, R.S.A., edited by Joseph Anderson, LL.D., 1881, fol. p. 2.

consisted of from seven to twelve yards of tartan sewn up the middle so as to form a plaid of double width varying from four to six yards long, by two yards in width. Highland looms did not fabricate tartan wider than one yard. A portion of this length was laid on the ground with the belt under it; the lower and middle portion being then plaited so as to form a kilt, leaving a flap at each side. The Highlander now lay down upon it, crossed the right flap, and next placed the left flap over it, and buckled his belt. When he got up, the upper part of the plaid which formed a sort of double kilt was fastened with a brooch on his left shoulder, and part of the plaid on the right side was tucked under the belt. To the waist-belt was attached the sporran, usually made of leather with a brass or silver mouth-piece, so constructed that persons unacquainted with the secret could not open it. The ancient sporran did not hang loose, but the waist-belt was passed through two rings on the mouth-piece which made it fast to the person. A dirk and one or two pistols were also worn on the waist-belt. By undoing the waist-belt the plaid was made to form a blanket, in which the Highlander could at night envelop himself. The plaid was frequently worn by chiefs. The *feile beg*, or little kilt, was invented by Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman, who came to Glengarry about the year

1770. Rawlinson had the lower part of the *breacan feile* cut off, and the plaits sewn, thus forming the modern kilt."

In allusion to the Highland dress, Taylor, the water-poet, writing in 1618, thus expresses himself:—"They wear shoes with one sole; stockings which they call short hose, made of a warm stuff of divers colours, which they call tartan. As for breeches, many of them (nor their forefathers) never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuff that their hose is of, their garters being bands, or wreaths of hay or straw, with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours of much finer and lighter stuff than the hose, with flat blue caps on their head [and], a handkerchief knit with two knots about their neck. Their weapons are long bows and forked arrows, swords and targets, harquebusses, muskets, durks, and Lochaber axes." The modern Highlander wore a plume, and stuck in his hose a knife and fork. Except as a military uniform, the Highland dress was proscribed in 1746. The *Aberdeen Journal* of 1750 informs us that Robert Pirie, servant to the minister of Cabrach, was brought into the city, and imprisoned for wearing the philibeg.

In earlier times females of the upper class wore white woollen robes, and jackets without sleeves. On public occasions they were clothed in a party-

coloured saque or plaid of fine texture, and wore on their necks chains of gold.

During the fifteenth century,[1] female attire consisted of a kirtle, a stomacher, and gown and tippet. The kirtle, a close-fitting garment, enveloped the body from neck to heel. Over the kirtle and enclosing the breast, was the stomacher, composed of satin or velvet, and lined with fur. The gown was a loose garment, open in front, and exhibiting the stomacher and kirtle. The tippet was a species of collar, of fur-lined satin, which enclosed the neck, and rested upon the shoulders. The head-dress or *turatis*, consisted of artificial hair, contrived so as to resemble two horns, from which descended the kerchief or veil.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, Scottish gentlewomen wore distended skirts. A lady born in 1714, whose reminiscences cast some light on the manners of her period, writes:—"Hoops were constantly worn four-and-half yards wide, which required much silk to cover them; and gold and silver were much used for trimming, never less than three rows round the petticoat; so that though the silk was slight the price was increased by the trim-

[1] To the preface of the first printed volume of "The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer," drawn up by Mr Thomas Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department of the General Register House, we are indebted for many particulars respecting male and female attire during the fifteenth century.

ming." Robert Ker, an intrepid cynic, who had his home at Lasswade, near Edinburgh, issued in 1719 a publication entitled "A short and true description of the great incumbrances and damages that city and country is like to sustain by women's girded tails, if it be not speedily prevented, with a dedication to those that wear them." In this publication the satirist sets forth that "bordered by metallic cooperage, men walked the streets under hazard of breaking their shin bones." In order to accommodate the fashion he facetiously calls for alteration in churches, coaches and staircases, and expresses his belief that John Knox would have condemned a practice which, on account of their wives and daughters, religious teachers hesitated to impugn. Respecting the wide-skirt style of dress, Allan Ramsay took a milder view. He writes:—

> "If Nelly's hoop be twice as wide,
> As her two pretty limbs can stride
> What then? Will any man of sense
> Take umbrage or the least offence?"

During the eighteenth century gentlewomen wore gowns with long waists, had high-heeled and sharp-pointed shoes, and used hair-powder. Upon their foreheads they drew down their front locks, and applied to their faces small patches. When at Edinburgh a gentlewoman appeared on the street in undress, she wore a mask or enveloped her head and

shoulders in a plaid of black silk. Green paper fans nearly two feet long, and attached to their waists by a ribbon, gentlewomen used in place of parasols, which were yet unknown. Elderly spinsters wore white aprons, and in walking out were attended by their handmaidens, clad in close-fitting short-sleeved gowns, and white mutches, but without shoes. The usual head-dress was of Flanders lace, adorned with ribbons. Every lady carried in her reticule a small snuff-mull, which in talking she exchanged with her friends. No unusual gift from a gentleman to the object of his affections, was a mull adorned with devices emblematical of constancy.

At the beginning of the present century, gowns in the long-waist fashion disappeared, extremely short waists being substituted. This mode continued till about the year 1830, when the former style was revived. Hoops, long abandoned, were again in requisition. Bonnets of large size were worn, and the hair dressed in curls in front, was on the top gathered in a roll, and there secured by a high comb.

Scottish gentlewomen assumed a deportment suited to the times. For about a century after the Reformation ladies of the upper circles avoided frivolity, and by domestic industry proved an example to their maidens. Subsequent to the Restoration female habits changed, and ladies were found who encouraged domestic gambling and loose talk, —

even using oaths. They commenced the day by drinking a cup of Malvoisie; thereafter breakfasting on a pair of plovers or partridges, with a libation of sack. At five or six o'clock they supped, enjoying to their repast a cup of Rhenish wine, and were entertained while eating by the sound of music from the lute or organ. A century ago the gentlewomen of Edinburgh held conversational sallies in the oyster cellars. On this subject Major Topham, in 1774, writes thus: — "When the door opened, I had the pleasure of being ushered in, not to one lady, as I expected, but to a large and brilliant company of both sexes, most of whom I had the honour of being acquainted with. The large table, round which they were seated, was covered with dishes full of oysters and pots of porter. For a long time I could not suppose that this was the only entertainment we were to have, and I sat waiting in expectation of a repast that was never to make its appearance. This I soon found verified, as the table was cleared and glasses introduced. The ladies were now asked whether they would choose brandy or rum punch? I thought this question an odd one, but I was soon informed by the gentleman who sat next me that no wine was sold here; but that punch was quite 'the thing.' The ladies, who always love what is best, fixed upon brandy punch,

and a large bowl was immediately introduced. The conversation had hitherto been insipid, and at intervals; it now became general and lively. The women, who, to do them justice, are much more entertaining than their neighbours in England, discovered a great deal of vivacity and fondness for repartee. A thousand things were hazarded, and met with applause; to which the oddity of the scene gave propriety; and which could have been produced in no other place. The general ease with which they conducted themselves, the innocent freedom of their manners, and their unaffected good-nature, all conspired to make us forget that we were regaling in a cellar; and was a convincing proof that, let local customs operate as they may, a truly polite woman is everywhere the same. . . . When the company were tired of conversation, they began to dance reels, their favourite dance, which they performed with great agility and perseverance."[1]

Sir John Carr, who published his "Caledonian Sketches" in 1809, found that the ladies of Edinburgh walked at a late hour in Queen Street, "especially in moonlight." Frivolous and inconsiderate in their demeanour, Scottish gentlewomen unwittingly led their attendants into most mischievous habits. In

[1] "Letters from Edinburgh in 1774 and 1775," by Major Edward Topham. London, 1776, 8vo, pp. 128-131.

the Hebrides at the close of last century every maid-servant received from the hands of her mistress a morning dram, or glass of whisky. The usage prevailed elsewhere, with the very worst results. Writing in 1805, Mr Robert Forsyth, in his "Beauties of Scotland," remarks that "a woman of low rank is scarcely to be found, whatever her character in other respects may be, who does not at forty-five years of age become less or more addicted to the use of spirituous liquors."[1]

From the reign of Charles II. to the close of the eighteenth century, the majority of Scottish gentlewomen exhibited a haughty demeanour and chilling reserve. The Duchess of Buccleuch, widow of the Duke of Monmouth, who died in 1732, claimed royal honours. Under a canopy, she was served by pages upon their knees. At her banquets she expected her guests to eat standing. When Elizabeth Gunning, the celebrated beauty, was wife of James, sixth Duke of Hamilton, she and the Duke walked to dinner together before their company; they then sat together at the head of the table, and both eating from the same plate, drank wine only with those who held not lower rank than that of an earl. When the Duchess became wife of John, fifth Duke of Argyle, she

[1] "The Beauties of Scotland," by Robert Forsyth. Edin., 1865, 8vo, i. 35.

indulged the satisfaction of ignoring at her own table James Boswell, when along with Dr Samuel Johnson, he was in October 1773, entertained by her husband at Inverary. Boswell's apology for her has often been quoted. He said that in "punishment being inflicted by so dignified a beauty, he had the consolation which a man would feel who is strangled by a silken cord."

Even in rural districts, where society was scanty, and visitors were few, matrons of fashion seldom smiled, and were never betrayed into a laugh. They instructed their daughters to repel the advances of every suitor whom they met in society, or if any were to be favoured, to receive their attentions coldly and with indifference. When admirers of their daughters sought to become agreeable they were discountenanced, and when acceptable suitors intimated that they had won their daughters' consent and asked their blessing, it was granted with an intimation that they were likely to repent their choice.

From the vanity and arrogance of high-bred dames in former times, it is pleasing to notify an interesting exception. Susanna Kennedy, daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy of Culzean, born in 1690, became in 1709 third wife of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton. Six feet in height, with a handsome figure, and a countenance and complexion of

bewitching loveliness, she was recognised as the most charming woman of her time. By George II. she was described, even when her children were grown up, as the most beautiful lady in his dominions. Yet much as she was admired in society of the highest rank, she preferred the intercourse of men of letters. To Allan Ramsay's request that he might be allowed to dedicate to her his "Gentle Shepherd," she cordially acceded, while long afterwards she accorded to Dr Samuel Johnson and James Boswell during their tour a gracious and honourable reception. The travellers visited her at Auchans on the 1st November 1773. Boswell chronicles the event in these terms: — "Dr Johnson was delighted with his reception. . . . In the course of our conversation it came out that Lady Eglinton was married the year before Dr Johnson was born, upon which she graciously said to him that she might have been his mother, and that she now adopted him. When we were going away, she embraced him, saying, 'My dear son, farewell.'" In their political principles the lexicographer and the countess were at one. In his "Journey," Dr Johnson praises her vivacity, and remarks that "at the age of eighty-four she had little reason to accuse time of depredations on her beauty." Two years after their interview, she entrusted Boswell with this message,

"Tell Mr Johnson that I love him exceedingly." Professor Josiah Walker, the friend and biographer of the poet Burns, was in childhood privileged with her ladyship's favour. His father was minister of Dundonald, the parish in which Auchans, her jointure-house, was situated. From the Professor's MS. we have the following:—"At Auchans, notwithstanding her repugnance to Protestant doctrine, more especially to Presbytery, she thankfully accepted weekly visits from the parish minister, also from members of his family. But," proceeds the Professor, "I soon superseded them all in her affection. In my eleventh year, after an imperfect recovery from an attack of measles, my health was thought so delicate that I was forbidden all outside exercise. When the Countess heard of this, she, with her usual overflow of kindness, said that she would take me out every day for a drive in her close carriage. Accordingly, at six every evening throughout the summer, she arrived at the manse, whose inmates were not a little elated, at a time when carriages were so few, to see the most splendid of all stop daily at their gate, and my little heart swelled with pride in feeling myself the cause of the high honour thus publicly conferred on them. Of the carriage itself I must say a word. It had been given by George III. to Earl Alexander, who was a favourite Lord of his Bed-chamber, and by the latter from his

earnest desire to gratify his mother, had been transferred to her. . . . As the Countess drank tea at an earlier hour than that at which this refreshment was taken at the manse, she, lest I should miss it, kindly brought with her a large basin of tea, covered with a soft biscuit, and made me consume these provisions during our drive. Sometimes she brought me strawberries, or some other nice substitute, and as we become attached to pets by feeding them, I had the pleasure of seeing her become warmly attached to me. My prattle entertained her; and it was an incontestable proof of her benevolence that at the age of eighty-three she could exert herself, as she always did, to keep a child, and a child of such inferior rank, in constant amusement and enjoyment." The Professor proceeds to describe how, that up to the age of ninety-one, when she passed away peacefully,[1] this remarkable specimen of female gentility continued to exhibit towards him the same affectionate solicitude which she had extended in his childhood. He adds, "If I have any elevation of spirit, if I have escaped any vulgarities of thought or feeling, if I have learnt to put its proper value on the precious combination of high rank and virtue, I am indebted chiefly to the many hours I passed at the residence of this admirable woman."

The lofty demeanour which characterized gentle-

[1] The Countess died on the 18th March 1780.

women, who conformed to fashion, was in the pride of certain noblemen of high rank fully reciprocated. In the reign of Charles II. the Duke of Lauderdale caused at Ham House a raised recess to be constructed at the upper part of a gallery, where, seated in chairs of state, he and his duchess received visitors. John James, ninth Earl of Abercorn, was extremely proud. In the manner of his period, he sat without touching his chair back ; and it was said of him that he made the tour of Europe without touching the back of his carriage. In his privately printed volume of "Scotch Stories," Captain Alexander Sinclair has recorded several anecdotes in connection with "the proud" Duke of Hamilton. Tracing descent from the Scottish royal house, through a daughter of James II., his grace conceived himself entitled to rank as a prince of the blood. "Passionately fond of art," writes Sir Archibald Alison, "he constructed, at the expense of upwards of £30,000, a mausoleum in Hamilton Park, to which he removed the remains of a long line of ancestors from the adjacent churchyard. He possessed himself of an Egyptian alabaster sarcophagus, covered with hieroglyphics, which he acquired when travelling in Upper Egypt. This he designed for his own coffin, and as it had been made for a female, he, after making trial of it by extending himself in it in various attitudes, left directions that, if

necessary, the breast bone should be sawn through, so that his body might be doubled up, without injuring the exquisite piece of sculpture."[1]

[1] Some Account of my Life and Writings, by Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., 1883, 8vo, vol. ii. p. 74.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE RITES AND CUSTOMS.

Of marriage rites and customs in the earlier times no memorial exists. Prior to the introduction of Christianity, and even subsequently, notions respecting the obligations of marriage were crude and imperfect. There is no evidence that the early clergy were concerned in sanctioning the nuptial bond; nor can marriage, as an ecclesiastical office, be traced earlier than the eighth century, when the civil authorities recognised wedlock as solemnized by the Church.

The system of handfasting—that is, of a man and woman engaging to live together for the period of a year, being held free at its expiry, except they elected otherwise, was derived from a Celtic usage which still prevails in Wales under the name of bundling. The chronicler Lindsay of Pitscottie, in writing of Alexander Dunbar, son of James, sixth Earl of Moray, and Isobel Innes, remarks—"This Isobel was but handfast with him, and deceased before the marriage." When Queen Margaret Tudor sued for a divorce from the Earl

of Angus, she pleaded that he had been handfasted to Jane Douglas, "who bare a child to him, and by reason of that pre-contract could not be her lawful husband." Divorce was granted by the Pope, but the child of the union between Angus and the Queen was declared legitimate.

In reporting to Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account," the minister of Eskdalemuir refers to the practice of handfasting having existed in his parish, under ecclesiastical sanction, at a period preceding the Reformation. At a fair held in the parish at the confluence of the Black and the White Esk rivers, unmarried men chose female companions with whom to be handfasted, and as the parish was under the supervision of the monks of Melrose, a priest of that monastery proceeded thither periodically in order to render these engagements permanent. As he carried in the breast pocket of his dress a copy of the marriage office, he was familiarly known as *Book i' Bosom*. In 1562 the Kirksession of Aberdeen decreed that persons living together under handfast contracts should forthwith be united in wedlock. Handfasting ceased about twenty years after the Reformation.

Though a system repugnant to social order was discontinued, the Scottish law of marriage yet remained in an unsatisfactory condition. While all persons who respected the social proprieties

sought in contracting marriage the sanction of the Church, the union might otherwise be legally constituted. An acknowledgment by parties of being husband and wife, made whether by word or writing, and followed or preceded by their living together, was held as a valid marriage. But the General Assembly ruled, in 1563, that no contract of marriage made secretly, with subsequent cohabitation, should be recognised till the offenders, as "breakers of good order," submitted to discipline, and by "famous and unsuspect witnesses" the contract was verified.

Prior to the twelfth century the regular as well as the secular clergy practised matrimony. But the conduct of ecclesiastics in alienating to their children the lands of the Church induced David I. to prescribe celibacy to the priestly order. The rule was not strictly kept, nor were penalties for the violation enforced. From churchmen have descended Highland chiefs and lowland barons. Macnab is the son of the abbot, Mactaggart the son of the priest, Macpherson the son of the parson, Macvicar son of the vicar, and MacClery the son of the clerk. These are traditional descents, but the children of notable churchmen are historically named. Cardinal Beaton, who had five children, openly gave one of his daughters in marriage to the eldest son of Lord Crawford. To the Cardinal's successor in the

primacy, Archbishop Hamilton, were born three children. Bishop William Chisholm of Dunblane, who died in 1564, had a son and two daughters; one of the latter was wife of Sir James Stirling of Keir. Bishop William Gordon of Aberdeen acknowledged several children. To Bishop Patrick Hepburn were born eight sons and two daughters, who were in 1533 and 1545 publicly legitimated. Donald Campbell, abbot of Cupar, had five sons, to whom he granted lands which belonged to the monastery.

A marriage tax, known as the merchet was, under the feudal system, exacted by superiors from their vassals on the marriage of daughters. Proceeding on the principle that when daughters were given in wedlock, the overlord was deprived of their services, merchet was leviable alike by the baron from his bondmen, and from the baron by his sovereign. During the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. the merchet leviable from persons of opulence was granted by the crown to individuals in reward of service.

Matrimonial customs considerably varied. In betrothal, the parties usually moistened with the tongue the thumbs of their right hands, and then pressed them together. The violation of a contract so consecrated, was considered tantamount to an act of perjury. In northern counties silver coins were exchanged by plighted lovers. Writing about 1736,

George Halket, schoolmaster of Rathen, Aberdeenshire, in his song of "Logie o' Buchan," represents the breaking of a sixpence between two lovers as constituting their love-pledge. His heroine sings—

> "I sit on my creepie, and spin at my wheel,
> And think on the laddie that loe'd me sae weel,
> He had but a'e sixpence—he brak' it in twa,
> And he gie'd me the half o't when he gaed awa'."

As much sacredness was associated with any contract made across the channel of a running water, so *plighting troth* across a stream became a mode of betrothal. In vowing mutual fidelity, Burns and Mary Campbell clasped hands across the Fail stream in the grounds of Coilsfield.

Betrothal among the Lowland peasantry was made without parental sanction, but immediately subsequent to the event, it was deemed proper that "the old folks" should be informed, and their countenance invoked. When, in the middle or upper ranks, an engagement was formed, the relatives of the parties assembled as a committee of ways and means. On such occasions convivialities were protracted. During the eighteenth century opulent persons provided a hogshead of claret to be used in arranging the contract. The subscribing of the contract was an occasion of further feasting.

Subsequent to the completion of the contract, the affianced parties were known as bridegroom and bride.

To the bride were assigned two maidens as her attendants, while two male kinsmen, one from each side, were appointed as her protectors.

The "booking" of parties was an early ceremonial. In the Kirksession Register of Stirling, under the 7th June 1579, James Duncanson, "Reader," and "Notary Public," certifies that Archibald Alexander, brother of the laird of Menstrie, and Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Alexander, had appeared before him personally, and "bayth in ane voyce granted mutuall promeis of marriage, whereupon he admonished bayth" not to cohabit till the legal completion of the union; and further, that "they and their companies abstain fra all publict dansein and playeis in the gaitts of the burgh on the day of the marriage, under the paine of 10 lib. money." Archibald Allan became cautioner that the promise made by the parties would be fulfilled. A legal ceremonial enacted in presence of a notary having, in former times, been deemed sufficient to constitute the nuptial bond, the question was submitted to the General Assembly of 1575 as to whether the system of mutual declaration prior to publication of banns should be longer continued. The Assembly ruled that the names of parties desiring proclamation should be intimated simply. Thereafter arose the practice of two male friends of the parties waiting on the session-clerk, and, with their names, depositing the

stipulated fee. Therewith was conjoined what was termed "laying doon the pawns"—that is, the making of a small consignment in guarantee that the marriage would be solemnized. In the parish of Ballingry, Fifeshire, the consignment was in 1670 fixed at two dollars. It was ruled by a Kirksession in 1666 that "the pawn" or consignation money should "remain in the clerk's hand for the space of three quarters of a year after the marriage."

At the Reformation it was enacted by the General Assembly that all who wished to marry must submit their names to the minister or session-clerk for proclamation of banns on three successive Sundays. Subsequently it was permitted on payment of a larger fee that banns might be completed by one public announcement, the words "for the first, second, and third time" being added.

In times immediately subsequent to the Reformation forty days were required to ensue between the time of "booking" and the day of marriage. During the interval the bride was supposed to receive no visitors save her relations and early friends. Young folks rubbed shoulders with the bride so as to obtain matrimonial infection.

A process of feet-washing was enacted. One or two evenings before the nuptial ceremony a party of the bridegroom's friends assembled at his dwelling. Into his spence or parlour they bore a washing-

tub, with towels and soap. Volunteering to wash his feet as a respectful service the privilege was readily granted to them. But no sooner was the bridegroom's unclothed limbs plunged into the water than commenced a horrible saturnalia. The limbs were besmeared with grease and soot. Then were applied brushes of coarse bristle, and when the cleansing process was completed the besmearing was renewed. The merriment was protracted till both the performers and the bridegroom were utterly exhausted. Feasting followed at the bridegroom's cost.

On the morning of the wedding the bride was attired with ceremony. On such occasions ladies of rank personally decorated those who had served them. The lowliest bride was expected to be clad for marriage in garments wholly new. Her dress could not, with any regard to her happiness, be fitted on prior to the day of marriage, nor might it be altered then, though fitting imperfectly. In the sixteenth century a bride's dress was ordinarily valued at one hundred merks. A marriage was held to augur good fortune only when prior to the ceremony every knot in the apparel of both parties had been unloosed.

In the Highlands marriage was usually solemnized in church, and in the lowlands either in the residence of the bride's parents or at the parochial manse.

When the marriage was about to be solemnized young men from the neighbouring farms assembled bearing firelocks, which, as a *feu de joie*, they discharged. In rural districts it was held that a bride should on her marriage day appear uncovered, but wear a cap ever afterwards. All declined to marry in May. Pennant relates that, in 1772, when he composed his work, the people of Perthshire avoided wedlock in January. The lowlander was averse to marrying on Friday, but the Highlander chose that day as the most hopeful. During the increase of the moon wedlock was in Orkney carefully eschewed.

In the Presbyterian Church there is no prescribed form of marriage ; hence in performing the nuptial rite each clergyman adopts a style or method of his own. The ceremony is ordinarily commenced and closed by prayer, while, prior to the nuptial vow, are expressed words of earnest exhortation. But some clergymen omit exhortation, and are content to read to the parties selected passages of scripture.

A century ago, in the Highlands, the bride at the close of the nuptial ceremony walked round her party, saluting each with a kiss. Thereafter was passed among the company a small dish, in which each deposited a coin, the amount collected being handed to the bride to purchase some useful article for her new home. At the marriage of persons belonging to the

middle and upper ranks, favours, consisting of portions of ribbon and lace, were attached to the bride's dress. After the ceremony all endeavoured to seize these, as matter of *good luck*. When the confusion had ceased, the bridegroom's attendant was expected to pull off the bride's garter; this she modestly dropped. Composed of white and silver ribbon, the garter was separated into portions, which were divided among the company.

After joining the company at the wedding breakfast, the bride and bridegroom left their friends amidst a noisy demonstration. The domestics had previously collected old shoes, with which they belabored the bridegroom as, with the bride on his arm, he proceeded to his carriage. To the bridegroom's attendant was assigned the duty of publicly notifying the marriage. In newspaper notices were formerly intimated the supposed amount of the bride's dowry, also a eulogy of her charms. The Edinburgh journals of September 1720, announced that the Earl of Wemyss was "married to the only child of Colonel Charteris, with a fortune of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, English money, which probably in a short time may be double that sum." But," adds the flattering chronicler, "that is nothing at all in comparison of the young lady herself, who is truly for goodness, wit, beauty, and fine shapes, inferior to no lady of Great Britain." From the "Glasgow Journal"

of the 24th March 1744, we have the following: "On Monday last, James Dennistoun, junior, of Colgreine, Esq., was married to Miss Jenny Baird, a beautiful young lady." "May 4, 1747. On Monday last, Dr Robert Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy and Botany in the University of Glasgow, was married to Miss Molly Baird, a beautiful young lady, with a handsome fortune." "August 3, 1747. On Monday last, Mr James Johnstone, merchant in this place, was married to Miss Peggy Norvall, an agreeable young lady, with £4000." From the "Aberdeen Journal" of 1750 we have the following: "Yesternight was married here, Mr Walter Cochran, Depute Town-Clerk, to Miss Nelly Udney, daughter to James Udney, advocate, a young lady of distinguished merit and virtue." "Last Tuesday, Alex. Aberdein, of Cairnbulg, late Provost of this city, was married at Montrose, to Miss Nelly Carnegie, sister to Sir James Carnegie of Pitarrow, a young lady of celebrated beauty and distinguished merit." In the same journal in 1755, a bride is described as "of distinguished beauty and superlative merit."

In rural districts marriage feasting was substituted for that merry-making which in pre-Reformation times had been associated with saints' anniversaries and other holidays. Till early in the present century a practice associated with marriage, styled *winning* the *broose*, obtained widely. Immediately after the

marriage ceremony young persons in the company, who valued themselves on their agility, set out on a foot race from the bride's dwelling to the residence of the bridegroom. When the distance was considerable the competitors were mounted. In the *Glasgow Courier* of the 16th January 1813, it is set forth that at a broose tournament which on the 29th March took place at Mauchline, one of the competitors, a female, after a ride of thirteen miles, won the broose over four males who contested with her. The heroine, Jean Wyllie, survived to the age of 102; she passed away while these sheets were preparing for press. The broose was a nominal prize, consisting simply of a dish of brose or soup.

Marriage feasts, styled "penny bridals," were so designated, consequent on a contribution of one shilling Scots, equal to one penny sterling, being made by each of the neighbours towards the entertainment. During the eighteenth century neighbours contributed in ample fashion. Landowners supplied joints of venison, beef, and mutton; farmers sent poultry and dairy produce, and the minister and schoolmaster gave in loan culinary utensils. The bride's parents were understood to supply one dish, the *bride's pie*, and every guest was expected to partake of it.

In Highland districts, the bride, attended by her maidens and two male kinsmen, constituting her

body guard, proceeded some days prior to the wedding to the dwellings of her friends to invite them to the celebration.

Bridal feasts were conducted with no inconsiderable formality. Into the place of banqueting the bride and her party walked first, at the sound of lively music. Next entered the bridegroom and his friends, who were also received with musical demonstrations. The general company followed up, the women in pairs, then the men in the order of seniority.

Not infrequently one hundred persons would assemble to a wedding feast. The bridal pair occupied the head of the board. Of the guests some were accommodated at the table; others sat on logs or beams of timber resting upon stones. To each was in the first instance handed a horn spoon with a cog of kail or broth. Next was served hotch-potch; next a lump of flesh or fowl. Last was ate the bride's pie. But the fare varied. In describing a rural bridal, the poet, Francis Semple, proceeds—

"There'll be lang-kale and pottage,
And bannocks o' barley meal,
And there'll be good saut herrin'
To relish a cogue of gude yill;

"There'll be tarten, dragen, and brachen,
An' fouth o' guid gabbocks o' skate.
Powsoudie and drammock an' crowdie,
An' callar nowt-feet on a plate;

"An' there'll be meal-kail, an' castocks,
Wi' skink to sup till ye rive;
An' roasts to roast on a brander,
Of flouks that were taken alive."

Dancing, when the weather permitted, was conducted upon the green. The first reel was danced by the newly-married pair; next on the floor were the bride's maidens and her male body guard. When all had danced the company returned to the banqueting room, where supper was served. It usually consisted of cheese and bannocks, ale and whisky. By the younger guests dancing was resumed. The concluding diversion was a dance, called "Bab at the Bowster." It was begun by one of the unmarried guests, who, taking a cushion in his hand, danced round the room and at the end of the tune placed the cushion before one of the opposite sex, who, kneeling upon it, was saluted by the dancer. The party then took up the cushion, when both danced together. It was continued till all the unmarried portion of the company had shared in it.

Marriage festivities were in certain districts continued for several days. Within the course of the present century the merry-making and jollities were prolonged from the day of marriage to the close of the week. During the interval the nuptial party made visits to the neighbours of their own

rank, and perambulated the district, accompanied by a piper and other mirthful attendants.

By Captain Burt we are informed that early in the eighteenth century, on the evening which followed a marriage, the company present at the ceremony, took possession of the bridegroom's dwelling, sending him and his wife to the barn or outhouse, there to remain for the night upon straw or heath.

In some districts of the Highlands, a century ago, a portion of the guests were permitted to enter the nuptial chamber. To the bridegroom was handed a wine glass, of which he drank the contents, bidding his visitors good-night. The stocking of the bride's left foot was then tossed into the air, the person near whom it fell being thereby augured as the next to wed. In the morning the married pair were awakened early to hold a levee of their friends and receive congratulations.

Creeling the bridegroom was during the last century practised in Berwickshire. Early on the morning after marriage there was strapped to the bridegroom's back a basket of stones or gravel, and a large-handled broom laid on his left shoulder. Thus equipped, he was forced to run fleetly, while the bride was expected to follow and to disengage him of his burden.

By sundry rites was the newly married wife

welcomed to her home. At the threshold was held over her a sieve containing bread and cheese, and as she entered the dwelling there was broken upon her head the *infar-cake,* a cake of shortbread specially prepared, while all joined in the song,

> "Welcome to your ain fireside,
> Health and wealth attend the bride!
> Wanters noo your true weird make,
> Joes are spaed by th' infar-cake."[1]

This custom of the infar-cake had its origin in the rite of confarreation whereby the Romans constituted matrimony by causing the contracting parties to eat together of a salted cake, or a portion of wheaten bread which had been consecrated. Portions of the infar-cake were distributed among the young of both sexes. The bride's welcome was completed when she had received the fire-tongs, and with a long broom had swept the hearth.

While emphatically maintaining the non-sacramental character of the nuptial rite, Scottish Reformers were desirous that a religious solemnity should be associated with the event of marriage. By the twenty-second General Assembly, held in March 1571, it was ruled "that all marriages be made solemnly in the face of a congregation," and the practice was to celebrate the union at the close of the morning service. For the accommodation of persons

[1] Bits from Blinkbonny, p. 274.

contracting matrimony, a special pew was provided, into which the parties were ceremoniously conducted, by the church officer. In May 1674 the Kirksession of Dunfermline ordained that "if brides and bridegrooms come not into the kirk, before the first psalm be closed, they shall pay twelve shillings or more as the minister shall please."

In order to check the unseemly disturbances which followed Sunday marriages at St Andrews, the Kirksession of that parish, on the 13th September 1570, "ordainit ane supplicatioun to be directed to the magistrates for reformation of the grete abuse usit be new mareit persons in violation of the Sabbat day, and in special that the day of their marriage afternwise they resort not to hering of the doctrine, and at evin after supper, insolentlie, in evil example of uthers, perturbis the town withal rynning thairthrow in minstralye and harlotry." Similar irregularities in connection with Sunday marriages occurred in other places, hence, on the subject being considered by the General Assembly of 1579, it was ruled that if a sufficient number of witnesses were present, parties might be married on any day of the week. A deliverance by the General Assembly of 1581 prohibiting the celebration of marriages in private houses, led the Kirksession of St Andrews to enact, on the 4th November 1584, that all seeking marriage, "baith riche and puir, be contractit in the counsall-

hous" on Wednesday of every week, and "in na vther place." By the Kirksession of Abercromby, it was ruled in 1630 that none shall be married on the Sabbath except they pay to the use of the poor 58s., and oblige themselves to keep good order.

The suppression of nuptial festivities, usually attended with disorderly proceedings might not readily be accomplished. In November 1583, the Kirksession of Glasgow decreed that there should be no superfluous gatherings at bridals, and that the *lawin*, or cost of the dinner or supper, should not exceed "eighteen pennies." While permitting a lawin of five shillings, the Kirksession of Stirling, in 1599, decreed that no marriages should be solemnized unless the parties gave in pledge four pounds, that no greater cost would be incurred. To elude clerical surveillance the inhabitants of Stirling celebrated their nuptial festivities under tents in the fields. To overcome this subterfuge, the Kirksession and Town Council of Stirling issued a joint deliverance, in these terms: "December 1, 1608. The brethren of the kirk ratifies the Act of Counsell underwritten anent brydellis, and ordaris that na testimoniall be given but according thairto in all points. 'The quhilk day the Counsell statutes and ordaines that all and quhatsumevir persones dwelland within this burgh or parrochin, quha sal happin to be proclaimit for marriage contractit betwix thame, sall mak thair brydellis and ban-

quittis within this burgh, fra thyncefurth ; and if thaye fealye, being proclaimit within the paroche kirk of this burgh be the ministeris thairof, and mak thair brydellis outwith the said burgh, in that caice the partie or parties that sal happin to contravein, sal pay to the towne the sume of twenty poundis money, provyding alwayes that this act be onelie extendit against the men and women quha sal happin to be joyned in marriage, bayth dwelland within this burgh or parochin thairof. And if ony persone dwelland within this burgh marie an outland woman, in that caice it is statute and ordainit that it sall not be lessum to him to desyr any ma persones, nychtbouris of this burgh nor twenty persones ; and if it be fund or tryed that he dois in the contrar, in that caice he sall pay to the towne the summe of ten poundis ; and willis that the kirk, befoir they grant testimonials tak ane pund thairfor. Lykas if any outland man marie any woman dwelland within this burgh, and if the woman contravein thairanent, in that caice sall pay uther twenty pundis ; and that befoir any testimoniall be granted be the minister or reader, or yet befoir marriage be solemnizit that they take ane pund for the said soume."

Stringent as this enactment was, it proved practically inoperative, for in 1614 we find the Kirksession of Stirling issuing a decree that the marriage rite be celebrated only in church, after divine service, and

that all merry-making of every kind should wholly cease.

On the 9th April 1646, the Kirksession of St Cuthbert's ordained that, under a penalty of ten pounds, couples should not invite to their weddings more than twenty-four persons. And in 1647 the Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar denounced bridal feasts as "seminaries of all profanation," restricting the attendance at each wedding to twenty persons. At Dumfries it was, in July 1657, ruled by the Town Council, "that not more than twenty-four persons assemble at a wedding, and that the expense do not exceed eight pounds, and that under the payne of twenty punds, whereof the one half is to be payt by the bridegroom, and the other half by the inkiepar quhar the brydle is kept."

The existence of dancing at marriage feasts was a chief reason why the Church was so persistently opposed to them. The ancient dances were unseemly, while the gyrations introduced at the court of Queen Mary, and which became common, were by the sober-minded regarded with absolute aversion. In 1599 the Kirksession of St Andrews dealt with David Wemyss in Raderny, for being present at a dance. He acknowledged that he had, but justified himself by saying that "he never saw that dancing was stayit (stopped) before, and that the custom was kept at Raderny before any of the Session was born."

Wemyss was imprisoned in the church steeple for contumacy; he latterly submitted himself. In May 1649, the General Assembly "inhibited dancing," and referred "the censure thereof to the care and diligence" of Presbyteries. On the 8th February 1628, "William Wallace, pyper," was sentenced by the Kirksession of St Cuthbert's "to stand one day upon the pillar and therafter to remove furth of the parochin, ay and untill he be ane renewit man of his maneris; and get leif of the Presbyterie to returne, after they see amendment in his lyf and conversatioun." For "pyping at bridals," Adam Moffat, piper, was, by the Kirksession of Ashkirk on the 16th November 1638, ordained "the next Sabbath to stand at the kirk door with ane pair of scheittis (sheets) about him, beirfutt and beirlegitt, and efter the pepill wes in, to go to the place of repentance, and so to continew Sabbathlie induring their willis." In September 1649 the Kirksession of Cambusnethan enacted that "there sould be no pypers at brydells, and whoever sould have a pyper playing at their brydell on their marriage day, sall lose their consigned money, and be furder punished as the Session thinks fitt." The Kirksession of Mouswald, on the 23rd December 1653, "requyrit John Wright, pyper, to stand twa dayes in the publick place of repentance, and to pay the penaltie of 20 lib., or utherwayes give over his pyping."

In 1677, the Presbytery of Garioch prohibited at bridals "all promiscuous dancing," and enjoined "that the master of the feast lay down two dollars in pledge that if there be anie abuse be any persons the bride-groom and bryde hath not invited, the master of the feast his pledge sall fael, and anie abuse committed be anie person invited be either of the parties, then they sall pay for it."

One of the latest of Kirksession decrees against bridal festivities was made at Hawick in 1703, when John Hart, one of the elders, was summoned for "making a penny-bryddall at his daughter Christian's marriage, which ended in scolding and fliteing." Hart was reminded that "such meetings had been laid aside this twelve months," and were contrary to the Acts of Assembly and the laws of the kingdom, whereupon he "upon his knees acknowledged his guilt," and "prayer was made to God for him to grant him repentance and pardon for what he had done, tending to revive the cursed custom of penny bryddels."

The privilege of marrying was, by the Church, bounded by certain restraints. On the 7th July 1578, the Kirksession of Perth, considering that those who "give up their banns of marriage are almost altogether ignorant and misknow the causes why they should marry, ordained all to compear before the reader to be instructed in the true knowledge of the

causes of marriage." In August 1579, the Kirk-session of St Andrews decreed that "nane be resaivit to compleit the bond of matrimonye without they reherse to the redar the Lord's Prayer, the Beleive, and the Commandments."

Persons labouring under financial difficulties were not allowed to marry. On the 28th January 1594, the Presbytery of Glasgow decreed that "in respect that James Annan is in greit dett, tharefor can nocht ordein Helen Bar to be mareit upone him."

The right of controlling matrimonial concerns was by the Church strictly asserted. In the parish register of the Canongate there are three entries relative to Queen Mary's marriage with Lord Darnley. In the first entry permission for celebrating the banns is thus set forth: "The 21 of Julij, anno Domini 1565. The quhilk day Johne Brand, mynister, presentit to the kirk ane writting, written be the Justice Clark hand, desyring the kirk of the cannogait and mynister thairof to proclame Harie, Duk of Abbynye, erle of Rois, etc., on the one part, and Marie, be the grace of God qvene Souerane of this realme on the vther part. The quhilk the kirk ordanis the mynister so to do with inwocation of the name of God." Next follows an entry of the banns being published—thus: "Henry, Duk of Albany, erll of Rois; Marie, be the grace of God, quen souerane of this realme. Married in the chappell." The

Queen's marriage is attested by a further entry in these words: "The 29 day of Julij anno 1565, Henry and Marie, Kyng and Qwene of Scottis." When on Darnley's assassination, the Earl of Bothwell sought to have his banns of marriage with the Queen published in the Canongate church, he was rigorously questioned by the minister, Mr John Craig. And inasmuch as he answered unsatisfactorily, Mr Craig, in publishing the banns, "took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested that marriage, because it was odious and sclanderous to the world."

Though allowing without comment the Queen's marriage with Lord Darnley in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, the Kirksession of the Canongate refused to sanction the chapel for the ordinary celebration of the nuptial rite. In September 1566, they resolved that "they would na wayes authoris any thing that is done in that idolatrie chappell, contrare to God and his word." The chapel so denounced has long since disappeared.[1] The Abbey Church of Holyrood was for many years subsequent to the Reformation the church of Canongate parish.

In 1579 the General Assembly ordained that any marriage performed by a "Popish priest," without proclamation of banns, should be regarded as null, while a rule obtained denying banns to those who

[1] History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland. Grampian Club, 1882, 8vo., pp. xv., xciv., xcv.

cherished the Romish faith. In 1588, the Presbytery of Edinburgh allowed the banns of George, Earl of Huntly, to be published on condition that he subscribed the articles of religion. It was further stipulated that before the celebration of his marriage, the Earl would accept the doctrines of the Confession of Faith.

Marriage rites performed by Roman Catholic priests or by clergymen of the Episcopal communion were equally disallowed. On the 26th April 1718, the Kirksession of Crathie summoned before them Donald Gordon and Alexander Shaw, for "marrying Popish wives," and further, for being "irregularly married by a priest," and thereafter consulted the Presbytery as to the mode of dealing with them. Before the Kirksession of Eaglesham, in 1724, were summoned Robert Watson and Margaret Stewart, for having their marriage solemnized by an Episcopal clergyman. The parties, by command of the Presbytery, had to appear as penitents in the parish church. By the Kirksession of Colinton, near Edinburgh, in 1726 and subsequent years, married couples were frequently sentenced to public rebuke "for breaking the established order of the Church," in being married by Episcopal clergymen.

Matrimonial alliances with the sister country were openly discouraged. In 1639, an overture was adopted by the General Assembly, "for restraining

people from passing into England to marry," and Parliament was invoked "to appoint a pecunial sum to be paid by the contraveners." No native of Scotland might wed an English spouse without rebuke. By the Presbytery of Lanark, on the 28th June 1655, baptism was refused to the child of Marian Somerell, inasmuch that "contrarie to the Acts of the kirke of Scotland," she had "married ane Inglishman." The Presbytery at length agreed to grant baptism on the woman making public satisfaction, and her husband giving promise that he would bring up the child "according to the Confession of Faith."

Clandestine marriages were especially obnoxious. It was ruled by Parliament in 1661, that "whatsoever person or persons shall hereafter marry, or procure themselves to be married, in a clandestine and inorderly way, or by Jesuit priests, or any other not authorised by this kirk, shall be imprisoned for three months; and beside their said imprisonment, shall pay, each nobleman, one thousand pounds Scots; each baron and landed gentleman, one thousand merks; each gentleman and burgess, five hundred pounds; each other person, one hundred merks, and shall remain in prison ay, and until they make payment of these respective penalties." To this statute it is added, "The celebrator of such marriage shall be banished, and never again to return under pain of death."

For the convenience of mariners, the provision as to a forty days' settlement being essential to the publication of banns, was relaxed at the seaports. This indulgence led to much irregularity. Portpatrick marriages became notorious. To that place proceeded many persons from Ireland who, in their own country, could not be united in wedlock unless under circumstances of inconvenient publicity. At Portpatrick no obstacle intervened. The session-clerk, on receiving the fee of one guinea, entered the village church and there proclaimed the banns. That which was irregularly begun, the parochial clergyman irregularly completed, and the parties were within an hour back to their ship, bearing a marriage certificate. For his part of the service the clergyman latterly received a fee of ten pounds. In 1826, Portpatrick marriages were prohibited by the Church. Within the preceding fifty years thirteen noblemen had been united by the Portpatrick system ; their names are recorded in the parish register.

Rutherglen marriages had local fame. At Rutherglen, persons who desired to contract marriage without the cost of banns, waited on the Town-clerk, and tendered five shillings as a penalty for being married without proclamation, the receipt for the fine being held as a certification of marriage.

The *ower bogie*, or *half mark* marriages, as they

were familiarly called, had noted headquarters at Coldstream on the Tweed, and at Gretna Green, upon the Solway. At these places as on Scottish soil, natives of England, who desired to marry without consent, could accomplish their purpose by simply declaring that they were spouses. Most runaways chose Gretna, for there one or two persons were constantly at hand with printed forms, which could hastily be filled up. Large fees were expected, and by these, the unworthy performers became rich. Robert Elliot, the last of the so-called "Border priests," published a book entitled "The Gretna Green Memoirs," in which he sets forth that between the years 1811 and 1839, no fewer than 7744 persons were married by his certificates. Elliot adopted a form or ritual founded upon the marriage office of the English Church.[1]

The grave irregularities which attended Border marriages at length evoked Parliamentary interference. Accordingly, on the 29th July 1856, it was enacted "that no irregular marriage contracted in Scotland by declaration, acknowledgment, or ceremony, shall be valid, unless one of the parties had, at the date thereof, his or her usual place of residence there, and had lived in Scotland for twenty-one days next pre-

[1] An interesting narrative respecting Gretna Green marriages will be found in Mr Andrews' Historical Romance. Lond., 1883, 12mo, pp. 131-9.

ceding such marriage." By this simple provision Border marriages were suppressed.

Consequent on the large dissent from the Established Church, also from other causes, it was felt that the only mode of initiating regular marriages in Scotland, viz., by proclamation of banns in the parish church ought to be relieved by some other alternative. Accordingly on the 8th August 1878, a statute was passed, which provided that banns might be dispensed with, if the names of parties intending to contract matrimony were exhibited for seven consecutive days at the office of the parish registrar. By the statute anyone who has resided in a particular parish for fifteen days is held to have obtained a legal settlement. The registering of marriages is provided for by the General Registration Act, passed on the 7th August 1854. This Act stipulates that a schedule of marriage signed by the contracting parties, the presiding clergyman, and two witnesses, must be deposited with the parish registrar within three days after the celebration.

It was, in 1600, ruled by the General Assembly that no minister should unite in matrimony any couple in which the male was under fourteen, and the female under twelve years of age. Yet deviations from this rule are to be remarked. Mary Countess of Buccleuch was, on the 9th February 1659, in her eleventh year, married to Walter Scott

of Highchester, of the age of fourteen. The marriage of heiresses under the age of twelve was not infrequent in the seventeenth century, guardians pleading in defence that they apprehended the abduction of their wards. So recently as the 1st June 1859 was married at 15 St James Square, Edinburgh, a girl, who was entered by the registrar as in her eleventh year. In examining the return the official inspector suspected error, but on inquiry being instituted, the entry was found to be correct.

By an Act of Assembly passed in 1565, it was ruled that every minister who celebrated a marriage without the proclamation of banns would be liable to censure. Not long afterwards one of the most zealous and exemplary of the reformed clergy was guilty of the offence. This was John Row, minister of Perth, who, at the request of his Kirksession, more especially of the Provost of the city, Lord Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Gowrie, united in marriage, without banns, David Lindsay, afterwards ninth Earl of Crawford, and Lilias, third daughter of David, second Lord Drummond. The marriage was celebrated by Row on the 12th February 1572-3, at the evening prayer meeting. On the 6th March thereafter he was censured for his irregularity by the General Assembly. When episcopal rule obtained in the Church, a bishop's license was occasionally sub-

stituted for publication of banns. Rather than marry on episcopal authority, some of the clergy celebrated marriage without either banns or license.

From the parish register of Ballingry, Fife, we have the following: — "April 18, 1685. Was contracted Alexander Dick and Margaret Betson, both in this parish—the man aged eighty, the woman twenty." In his "History of Banff," our late correspondent, James Imlach, states that his grandfather, who died at the age of ninety-six, married his second wife when he was ninety-two.[1]

A few illustrations of curious connections formed by marriage may be added. John Knox was twice married. His first wife, Marjory Bowes, was daughter of Captain Bowes, a recreant Romanist; his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, was a relative of Queen Mary. Donald Cargill, the great Covenanter, who died a martyr to his principles, married Margaret Browne, a widow, whose former husband, Andrew Bethune of Blebo, was a relative of Cardinal Beaton or Bethune. Mrs Cargill died on the 12th August 1656.[2]

Major John Colt, deputy-governor of Edinburgh Castle, who was noted for his piety, espoused in October 1693, Anna Knox, of the family which had produced the founder of Scottish Presbytery; secondly, in September 1706, Mary, sister of Principal

[1] History of Banff, by James Imlach, 1868, 12mo., p. 65.

[2] Glasgow Commissariot Register, 21st March 1657.

William Carstares, through whose counsel Scottish Presbytery was restored.[1]

Dr Alexander Webster, of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, founder of the Ministers' Widows Fund, and a zealous upholder of the National establishment, was, through his sister Mary, brother-in-law of Ebenezer Erskine, who founded the Secession Church.

In the parish register of Muthill is the following entry :—"Sunday, Oct. 25, 1691. Contracted William Gloag and Janet Seatoun, both in this parroch, their pledges ane leg. [legal] dollar. Were proclaimed, *pro primo.*" Janet Seatoun died early, leaving a daughter, who about her fifteenth year, experienced from her father's second wife much oppression. Daughter of a crofter, Miss Gloag was unwilling to enter domestic service; she preferred to emigrate. But the vessel in which she sought to reach America was seized by pirates, who carried passengers and crew to the African coast. Thrown into slavery, Miss Gloag was conveyed to Morocco, where she was married by the Emperor and so became Empress. On the death of the emperor, a relative of the royal house sought to dispossess her sons, and on their behalf, as descended from a British mother, the aid of the British Government was invoked. The claim was admitted, and a small fleet was being fitted out at Gibraltar for their defence, when intelligence reached that, by the usurper, they had been slain.

[1] Edinburgh Marriage Register.

CHAPTER IV.

BIRTHS AND BAPTISMAL REGISTERS.

In anticipation of a birth, the women of the family prepared a large and rich cheese called the *kenno*, as the males of the household were supposed to be ignorant of its existence. After the birth, it was cut in portions and distributed among the matrons who were in attendance. The mother and child were then *sained*, that is, a fir-candle was whirled round the bed three several times. By means of this rite evil influence was held to be averted.

The new-born child was plunged in a vessel of cold water, into which was cast a live coal. Thereafter was the infant, if a male, wrapped in a woman's shift; if a girl, in a man's shirt. Before touching the little one, female visitors were expected to cross themselves with a burning brand. The child was not to be unduly commended, lest it should be *forespoken*, which implied consequences detrimental to fortune. After the mother's recovery persons of both sexes assembled to offer congratulations, also to drink to the child's welfare. The occasion was known as the gossip's wake or *cummerfealls*, and it was deemed essential

to the infant's prosperity, that in drinking, each should swallow the entire contents of his glass. In March 1645 the Kirksession of Dunfermline enacted thus: "Taking to their consideration the abuse of mixt meetings of men and women meerlie for drinking of cummerfealls as they call it—and the inconveniences arising therefrom, as mainlie the losse and abuseing of so much tyme, which may be better employed in attending to businisse at home, be such as frequent the occasions thereof—the prejudice which persons lying in child-bed receave both in health and means, being forced not onlie to beare companie to such as come to visit, but also to provide for there coming, more than either is necessarie or theire estate may beare. Considering also that persons of the better sort carrie a secret dislike to it, and would be gladlie content of ane act of this kynd that there might be to them some warrand against exceptions, which might be taken be freinds and neighbors if the ancient custome were not keeped be such. Upon these considerations the minister and elders of the sessioun discharges, and inhibits all visits of this kynd, and for the end foresaid under the paine of being for the first fault censured be the session, and there to be obliged humblie to acknowledge their fault, and for the nixt to make publick confession of their fault before the whole congregatioun. And the session appoynts this to be intimat publicklie the nixt

Sabbath day, that none plead ignorance,—which was done."

When a child was baptized, the infant was placed in a basket, on which was spread a white cloth, with portions of bread and cheese; it was then suspended by a crook over the fire-place, which was three times moved round. Thereby was destroyed, the noxious influence of the fairies and of other malignant powers. When baptism was to be performed in church, the bearer carried portions of bread and cheese, which she offered to the person first met; if the offer was rejected, bad luck for the child was apprehended. When several children were baptized together, it was deemed essential that the males should be presented first; when a girl was prior to a boy handed up, it was apprehended that she would be disfigured by a beard. Without the pale of their own communion the Scottish clergy did not admit of baptism being performed. On the 31st December 1567, the Countess of Argyle, being complained of for assisting at the baptism of the infant James VI. "in a papistical manner," submitted herself to the Assembly, who ordained her "to make public repentance in the Chapel Royal of Striveling ane Sonday in time of preaching." So recently as 1716, the parish minister of Colinton near Edinburgh, declined *registration of baptism* to the son of Sir James Foulis Bart., one of his heritors, inasmuch as his infant

daughter had been baptized by an episcopal clergyman. The refusal was resisted sternly. Procuring the Baptismal Register from the session-clerk, Mr Foulis, with his own hand made an entry of his daughter's baptism—thereto adding the following protest: "I, the said Mr Harry Foulis, advocate, was obliged to write as above with mine own hand, in respect that Mr Walter Allan, then incumbent at Collintoun *alias* Hailes, had discharged his session-clerk to insert my children's baptisms in the register, because they were baptized by an Episcopall Minister."

Some of the more zealous of the Presbyterian clergy were included in the eight brethren who, in 1740, formed the nucleus of the Secession Church. By the seceding ministers their followers were enjoined to avoid making record of births or baptisms in the parochial registers. The registrar of Stirling in his register at the close of 1742 writes, "What mistakes or neglects may be found in these last two years, is occasioned by the disorderlyness of the Associats." He adds at the close of 1743, "If any names are wanting in this year, it is by the disorderlyness of the Associats, *who will not pay their dues.*"

While landowners belonging to the Episcopal Church were refused registration, those heritors who conformed to Presbytery were in the baptismal registers honoured to excess. The most inconsiderable landowner and his wife, who resided upon their

estates, were on baptismal occasions registered as "the laird" and "lady." Thus, when Margaret Lauder, wife of John Fairholm of Baberton, brought him a son on the 21st May 1705, the session-clerk of Currie intimated in the register that on that day "George, son to the Laird and Laidy Baberton, was born."

According to the form prescribed in "The Book of Common Order," every child was to be presented for baptism by one of the parents, accompanied by a god-father. Two god-fathers usually attended, but these are in the registers, in Presbyterian times, named simply as witnesses.

By parochial authorities, deserted children were properly cared for, and efforts to discover their parents diligently put forth. On the 15th November 1646, the Kirksession of St Andrews having learned that "ane bairne was found in the West Burne Wynd, layd doun at John Yule's stair foot," resolved that "the heall elders of the several quarters and bailyies thereof shall go throw their own quarters with their roues [rolls] and search if any tryall can be found, and to be communicat to the Presbyterie that ilk minister may search and try his ain parish for tryall thereof."

In the parish register of Canongate, we learn that on the 19th June 1668, was baptized by the name of Theophilus a child found three days previously. To

the child's dress was attached a slip of paper with the words "For Jesus Christ's sake, baptize." The slip is preserved on the margin of the register.

Foundlings obtained baptismal names on no regular system. Some were designated after the parish or the district or locality in which they were found. Thus, a female child picked up by a market gardener in the parish of St Machar, Aberdeenshire, was baptized Ann *Garden*. A child which, in 1736, was found by John Gordon at New Park, Ordiquhill, Banffshire, was baptized "Charles *Park*." This foundling surmounted the disadvantages of his birth, married, and became prosperous.

On the subject of foundlings a brief narrative may be added. When George IV. visited Scotland in 1822, an old man presented himself at Holyrood as "the last of His Majesty's enemies." This was Peter Grant, a sergeant in the Prince's army at Culloden. Peter's statement was verified by the Hon. William Maule, of Panmure, and the king, in acknowledging the visit, bestowed on "the last of his enemies" a pension of fifty pounds. Peter was born at Braemar, and the circumstances of his birth are thus detailed in the parish register of Crathie. "October 9, 1720, The gentlewoman that lately came into James Shaw's family, had brought forth a child, and as they [the elders] were certainly informed, a gentleman of the name of Grant is the father of the child, and that

the gentleman lived in the parish of Strathdown." Peter Grant died at Invercauld on the 11th February 1824. On his tombstone at Invercauld he is described as having reached the age of 110; his actual age was 104.

To the children of those who were personally unbaptized, were in baptism denied the usual christian names. Thus, when the child of one Pierce, the negro servant of Sheriff Rankin at Forfar, was baptized in 1794, he was named "Offspring" Pierce.

Female children have been baptized by names inappropriate to their sex. Thus, in the Edinburgh register of baptisms, the wife of William Dick of Grange is named "Charles Leslie." At South Leith in 1786, David Pitkethly had his daughter baptized David. In the same year at Cramond, a daughter baptized to Hugh Paterson was named Peter Rockhead. In 1803, Duncan Campbell in the parish of Kilninian, gave his daughter his own christian name.

The desire of some parents to designate their children by a plurality of names, has had singular illustrations. The register of the Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, contains the following:—"July 7, 1785, Washington-Franklin-Nisbet-Bruno-Fox-Aitchison, youngest son of Alexander Aitchison, jeweller, Edinburgh, died the 5th July 1785, having been previously half-starved, half-murdered by his nurse, and her drunken

husband, *aetatis* eight months ten days and 11½ hours." Charles Christian, a retired soldier, settled in the parish of Lochlee, has in the names of his children commemorated old battle-scenes, and his former commanders and comrades. To his son, baptized in 1866, he gave the names: David-Walter-Charles-Essex-M'Laren-Hay-Robert. His daughter born in 1867, he named Jean-Ann-Alma-Alaydyne-Lydia-Florence-Mary-Euphemia-Christina. His daughter, born in 1869 he designated Jessie-Falconer-Betsy-Guthrie-Agenith-Catchka-Mamelon-Malakoff. And to a son, born in 1870, he gave the expressive appellative of Cambridge-Duke-Campbell-Colin.

From the Baptismal Registers may be gathered examples of remarkable fecundity. In the register of Brechin parish, we have the following:—"June 3, 1626, John Gib, skinner, spous to Grizell Nicol had a man bairne baptized named James. June 4, the said John Gib had ane ither man chyld baptized, born of the said Grizel, named John. Upon the sext day of Junij the said Grizel brocht furth the thrid, quhilk was dead borne, and thairefter died herself."

The occurrence of four children at a birth, is in the register of Currie, thus notified:—"September 30, 1694, James Caldwalls and Jannet Frizzell in Currie toun had four children at one birth; two of whom were born dead, the other two alive. They were born the 29th of September and baptized the 30th day thereof."

A most extraordinary instance of fertility is recorded in the Baptismal Register of Falkland. It is therein set forth, that Euphemia Galloway wife of William Portor, blacksmith, gave birth to twin children, boy and girl, on the 13th December 1858; and that on the 18th November 1859, eleven months and five days thereafter, she produced other three children, two boys and a girl, being five children born of her within twelve months.

By a Parliamentary statute passed on the 7th August 1854, it is provided that the parish registers of births and baptisms, also those of marriages and deaths previous to the year 1820, should be deposited in the "Registry Office," then constituted at Edinburgh. In that office are now preserved registers which formerly belonged to the Kirksessions of about nine hundred parishes. Many of these have been injured by damp, while others have suffered from fire, and others from general neglect. Blanks are frequent. The majority of Births' registers commence about the middle of the seventeenth century; only fifteen parishes possess registers which extend to the century preceding. The Baptismal Register of Errol, Perthshire, commences in December 1553, but the entries preceding the year 1573 are transcribed from a former record which has been lost. Of the same parish the Marriage Register for 1553 is actually extant.

Under the registration system as provided by the

Act of 1854, and by supplemental statutes passed in 1855 and 1860, parish registers are kept by parochial registrars in strong iron boxes, while from year to year the entries are inspected by examiners appointed by the Treasury. The births and other registers prior to the year 1820, are in the Registry Office, open without charge to those engaged in literary research. To others, permission for a general search is accorded by the payment of one pound. For a particular search the fee is one shilling; and for an official extract of any single entry is payable a further fee of 2s. 1d., which includes stamp duty. Since the registration enactment of 1854, indexes of the registers are prepared from year to year.

By some parish or session clerks in the sixteenth century were chronicled contemporaneous events unconnected with the locality. Thus the parish clerk of Aberdeen notifies in his register the birth of James VI. which took place at Edinburgh. The entry, which was evidently made subsequent to Queen Mary's abdication, which took place on the 27th July 1567, is in these words: "On Wednisday the nyntin day of June, this year of God 1566 yeiris, oure Kyng grace, James the Saxt, Kyng of Scotland, was boirin in ye Caistell of Edinburg, quha ryngis nowe aboye ws, quhame God moitt preserve in guid helth and in the feir of God, to do justice in punishing of wrayng and

in manttinyen the trewht all the dais of his lyfe. So be itt."

By the following entry in the Baptismal Register of the Canongate, a point of literary history, hitherto misinterpreted, is made clear: "17 Apryll 1622. Baptized to Alexander Erskine, son to the Earl of Mar, great treasurer of Scotland, a son named Alexander, gotten under promeis of marriage with Mistress Anna, sister to ane nobill and potent Lord, John Lord Holyrudhouse." In a note attached to a ballad which he entitles, "Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament," Dr Robert Chambers writes:[1] "The present editor, by the assistance of a valued antiquarian friend, is enabled now to lay a true and certain history of the heroine before the public. Lady Anne Bothwell was no other than the Honourable Anna Bothwell, daughter of Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney at the Reformation, but who was afterwards raised to a temporal peerage, under the title of Lord Holyroodhouse. . . . As Miss Bothwell's father died in 1593, and as Sir Alexander [Erskine] had a letter of provision of the abbacy of Cambuskenneth in 1608, there arises a presumption, considering the age of the parties, that the unhappy circumstance which occasioned the 'Lament' took place early in the seventeenth century. This indeed, is set almost beyond a question by the occurrence of a poem, apparently the first edition of Miss

[1] Scottish Ballads, 1829, 12mo, pp. 118-121.

Bothwell's "Lament," in a publication of the year 1606, "The Northern Lass; or, The Nest of Fools." In a subsequent work,[1] Dr Robert Chambers names as his "antiquarian friend," Mr Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, whose belief, he adds, was "founded on family traditions, supported by a passage in Father Hay's manuscripts, "contained in the Advocates Library."

In the light of the Canongate register the respectable historical authorities, we have quoted prove severally at fault. For Anne Bothwell now appears as daughter not of Bishop Adam Bothwell, but of his son, John, the first Lord Holyroodhouse, and to whom in 1609 succeeded as second peer, his son John named as "Lord Holyroodhouse," in the Canongate register. By the entry we further learn that Alexander Erskine made acknowledgment as to his promise of marriage, and presented his child for baptism. That he did not fulfil his matrimonial pledge, was clearly owing to the corrupt inclinations of the Bothwell family. In the Canongate register, from 1623 to 1629, Lord Holyroodhouse appears as the father of three illegitimate children by different mothers, who were severally baptized to his valet. The association of the patriotic ballad "Balow my boy," with the family of Bothwell is clearly unwarranted.

So long as parish registers remained in the hands of the local custodiers, biographical and historical

[1] Songs of Scotland, prior to Burns, 1862, 12mo, p. 268.

writers were liable to be at fault both in fixing dates and determining pedigrees. Thus, Mr Donald Cargill, the celebrated covenanter, is described as the eldest son of Cargill of Hatton, and as born at Rattray about the year 1619.[1] By the parish register of Rattray we learn differently. Thus: "6th April 1610, Quhilk day Thomas Cargill, cotter, in Chappel toune, and Janet Steill his spouse, haid ane son baptized, callit Donald—the witnesses Donald Cargill, vicar of Rattray, and Andro Quhyt in Chapeltoune." The witness Donald Cargill, was reader at Rattray, deriving a very small salary from the vicarage teind.

By his biographers, the celebrated Marshal Keith is named James Francis Edward. The Baptismal Register of St Fergus designates him differently. Thus:—"June 16th 1696. The Earl of Marischall had a son baptized, called James Charles Edward, before these witnesses, John Earl of Erroll, Charles Lord Hay, and Sir William Keith of Londquhairn." In some national works, the nativity of Alexander Cruden, author of the "Concordance of the Bible," is described as occurring on the 31st May 1700, also in 1701.[2] The Aberdeen register of baptisms certifies thus:—"June 4, 1699, William Cruden, merchant, and late master of mortifications, and Isobell

[1] Fasti Eccl. Scot. II. 39.

[2] Chambers's Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, and Anderson's Scottish Nation.

Pyper his spouse, had a son named Alexander, baptized by Mr [John] Reid, minister of the gospell at [Durris]. Alexander Ray and Alexander Orem present bailies, Alexander Ray younger, burges, and Alexander Lumsdell, son to William Lumsdell, burges and maltman, godfathers."[1]

By his biographers, James Boswell is described as born on the 29th October 1740, but the Edinburgh Baptismal Register reports otherwise:—Thus, "Oct. 18, 1740; To Mr Alexander Boswell younger of Auchinleck, advocate, and Mrs Eupham Erskine his spouse, a son named James, witnesses Walter M'Farlane of that Ilk, Allan Whitefoord, receiver general for North Britain, and Dr John Pringle, physician in Edinburgh. Born the same day in the morning, and baptized by the Rev. Mr Robert Wallace, one of the ministers of the city.

A usually accurate chronicler, the late Earl of Crawford, in his "Lives of the Lindsays," describes his relative, Lady Anne Lindsay, afterwards Barnard, authoress of "Auld Robin Gray," as born on the 8th December 1750. From the Baptismal Register of Kilconquhar, we have the following; "December 1, 1750. The Right Hon. James, Earle of Balcarres,

[1] Mr John Reid, minister of Durris, a non-jurist, married Margaret Cruden, father's sister of the author of the Concordance. In 1716 he was deposed for "contumacy" and "concurring in the late rebellion."

and his Lady Anne Dalrymple, had a child baptized named Anne, witnesses, Mr James Dalrymple and Robert Hamilton of Kilbrackmont, Esqs., and Doctor James Smith in Pearth. Born on the 27th November 1750."

Biographers differ respecting the birth of John Home, the author of "The Tragedy of Douglas." In his sketch of the poet, Henry Mackenzie alleges that he was born on the 22d September 1722, old style, while by the editor of the "Scottish Nation" he is described as born at Ancrum, on the 22nd September, new style. The Births Register of South Leith records Home's birth in these terms: "Alexander Home, clerk of Leith, and Christian Hay his spouse, had a son named John, born 2d and baptized 3d September 1722; witnesses, John Hay, Inspector of His Majesty's Customs, Alexander Douglas, merchant, Joseph Gibson, chirurgeon apothecary, and Alexander Innes, depute-clerk there."

On his tombstone at Portmoak, the poet Michael Bruce has his natal day described as the 27th March 1746, and his various biographers concur. But the Portmoak register informs us that the short-lived poet was baptized some days previous to that named as his birthday, Thus: "March 24 [1746]. Baptized Michael, son to Alexander Bruce, dissenter in Kinnesswood."

According to the memoir-writers, Professor Sir John

Leslie, the celebrated mathematician, was born at Largo on the 16th April 1766. In the Largo register we have this entry: "April 17, 1766. Was born John, son to Robert Lesslie, wright in Kirktown of Largo, and Ann Carstairs his spouse, and baptized 20th of same month, in presence of the congregation." By his biographer, Mr George Robert Gleig, is the distinguished General, Sir Thomas Munro, described as born on the 27th May 1761.[1] The Glasgow register has the following: "Alexander Monro, merchant, and Margaret Stark, a lawful son, Thomas, born 25th May 1761."

The *Ettrick Shepherd*, James Hogg, imagined that his birthday was the same as that of Robert Burns; he was born, he reports in his autobiography, "on the 25th January 1772." But the register of Ettrick parish shows that the Bard of the Forest saw the light sooner. Thus: "December 9, 1769, James, lawful son to Robert Hogg and Margaret Laidlaw, tenant in Ettrickhall, was baptized."

By the editor of the "Scottish Nation" we are informed that Professor John Wilson was born at Paisley on the 19th May 1785. In the Paisley register we read, under the year 1785, "John, lawful son of Mr John Wilson, merchant, and Margaret Syme, born 18th May."

Hitherto the parentage of Mungo Park, the cele-

[1] Gleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro, Lond., 1849, 8vo.

brated traveller, has been unknown. But the Selkirk register informs us in these words: "September 11 (1771) Mungo Park, tenant in Foulshiels, and Elspeth Hislop, his spouse, had a child baptized by the Rev. Mr George Lawson, of the Associate Congregation in Selkirk, named Mungo."

Baptismal registers show that the philosophers, Adam Smith, James Beattie, and David Hume, were each baptized on the day of his birth. Hume was the first of his family who substituted *u* for *o* in his family name. His baptism is thus notified in the Edinburgh register: "1711, 26 April. Mr Joseph Home of Ninewells, advocate, and Katherin Falconer his lady, a son named David. Witnesses, George, Master of Polwarth, Sir John Home of Blackadder, Sir Andrew Home, advocat, and Mr Andrew Falconer, junior, advocat. Born this day."

By the Act of 1854, the registration of births is made compulsory. A supplementary Act for the recovery and preservation in the Register Office of Births Registers connected with Dissenting churches is still desiderated.

CHAPTER V.

DEATH AND FUNERAL PRACTICES.

Prognostications of death were superstitiously entertained. When a tallow candle shed grease over the edge in a semicircular form, it was held to betoken that the person to whom it was turned was about to die. When after moving across a dead body, a cat proceeded to the roof of a house, it was deemed an omen that the head of the house was to be gathered to his fathers. The issue of an ailment was determined by the invalid having drawn round him, the methyr, a girdle formed by the interlacing of male and female garters.

When a sick person was believed to be at the point of death, no occupant of his dwelling was allowed to sleep. On the event of death, the house clock was stopped, and the dial-plate concealed. When a body was enshrouded, the house mirrors were covered, and a bell was placed under the head, and a small vessel with earth and salt laid upon the breast. When the head of a family was removed, white paint was scattered upon the door of his dwelling, the spots so formed being held to denote the tears of the household.

In hamlets and small towns, death was announced by the church officer ringing at intervals a small bell. When Captain Burt wrote (in 1740) a death was publicly announced in these words:—"All brethren and sisters, I let you to wot, that there is a brother departed this life, at the pleasure of Almighty God; they called him, &c., — he lived at, &c." Funeral intimations were in like manner proclaimed.

By the General Assembly of 1638, funeral sermons were prohibited. Printed elegies were common at the close of the seventeenth, and early in the eighteenth centuries. Humphrey Milne, watchmaker at Edinburgh, who died in 1695, was thus commemorated.

I will not name his parentage, his breeding, nor his birth;
But he that runs may read his life—he was a man of worth.
He valued not this earth below, although it had been *satis*,
He loved to lay his stock above, and now he is *beatus*.

In July 1700, Lord Elcho was deprived of his young and beautiful wife, consequent on her dress catching fire. He was comforted by these lines:—

Only well-grounded hopes of her blest state
Can his excessive agonies abate,
And the two hopeful boys she left behind,
May mitigate the sorrows of his mind

Allan Ramsay held in contempt those who traded upon mortuary rhymes. Respecting them he wrote thus:—

None of all the rhyming herd
Are more encouraged and revered,
By heavy souls to their's allied,
Than such who tell who lately died.

The latewake, a watching of the body from the moment of departure till the hour of burial, was practised till about a century ago. In the act of watching, all the neighbours, even persons from a great distance, took part. As the vigil was continued day and night, one party of watchers relieved the other. Silence was enjoined, but liquor-drinking was unrestrained.

When the vigils were protracted, the watchers prosecuted in silence a variety of games, especially card-playing. Captain Burt supplies these particulars: "After the death of anyone, not in the lowest circumstances, the friends and acquaintances of the deceased, assemble to keep the relations company the first night; and they dance, as if it were at a wedding, till the next morning, though all the time the corpse lies before them, in the same room. If the deceased be a woman, the widower leads up the first dance; if a man, the widow. But this Highland custom, I knew to my disturbance, within less than a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh, before I had been among the mountains. It was upon the death of a smith, next door to my lodgings, who was a Highlander."

To avoid the cost of a protracted latewake, the

bodies of the poor were buried soon after death. But it was deemed proper that the coffined bodies of the opulent should remain at least a week uninterred, that vigil hospitalities might be largely offered and enjoyed. The latewakes of persons of quality, were occasionally protracted for two and three weeks.

Notable latewakes terminated in a banquet on the evening which preceded the funeral. The festivities closed by the funeral *dance*, with bagpipe music. Funeral dances were largely shared by females. In October 1760, the death of George II. was celebrated at Aberdeen by a mourning concert. The occasion is in the *Aberdeen Journal* of the time thus described :—

"On Tuesday night last there was a mourning concert at the Concert Hall, on account of his late Majesty's death. There were upwards of one hundred ladies, all in deep mourning, besides a great number of gentlemen. There were anthems sung, and the music solemn and suitable to the occasion; and the whole performance was reckoned by connoisseurs exquisitely good, and gave great satisfaction to the audience."

Funerals were attended by a degrading dissipation, in which persons of all ranks lamentably shared. When at the funeral of an ordinary husbandman, one o'clock was named as the hour of "lifting,"

the funeral party began to assemble two hours previously. At the gate opening to the farm-yard one of the hinds waited with a supply of whisky, which in a cup or bicker he offered to all comers. Each took a draught in silence. Among those who passed were beggars of both sexes; these assembled from all quarters in the farm-barn, where they tarried patiently till the funeral party had been served. What remained of viands and liquor fell to their share.

To funeral-guests as they crossed the threshold was offered a second bicker of whisky; it was drunk reverently. A third attendant waited in the guest chamber, and silently placed in the hand of each who entered a cog of liquor. This was swallowed along with a portion of shortbread. According to Burt, the tables of funeral parties usually displayed pyramids of plumcake and sweetmeats, together with pipes and tobacco. When the company had fully assembled, the parish minister commenced a religious service, which continued about forty minutes. Then were distributed copious refreshments. First were handed round portions of oaten cake, cheese, and whisky. Next followed a service of whisky and shortbread.

When the fifth glass of liquor was consumed, the company prepared for the *lifting*, that is, for start-

ing with the body for the churchyard. Those who were intoxicated remained behind.

At the funeral of William Alexander, seaman, who died at Alloa in 1725, these items were incurred:

Twentie pints eall [ale],	£13	6	0
Two pints aquavitæ [whisky],	2	0	0
Bread [shortbread],	2	3	6
Tobacco and pipes,	0	10	0
Four pound chees,	0	12	0

As a Scottish pint was equal to two quarts of present measure, it appears that William Alexander's friends had at his funeral imbibed one gallon of whisky, and ten gallons of ale!

Referring to the funeral customs of a recent period, Dr R. H. Story remarks, "At funerals, four rounds of whisky were considered due to wounded affection and departed worth, and respect was shown to the dead by the intoxication of the living."[1]

When persons of substance were interred, those attending their funerals were entertained with viands in curious variety. At the first service were offered meat and ale; at the second, shortbread and whisky; at the third, seedcake and wine; at the fourth, currant-bun and rum; at the last, sugar biscuits and brandy. During the funeral banquet of Andrew

[1] Memoirs of the Rev. Robert Story, by Robert Herbert Story. Cambridge, 1862, 12mo, p. 50.

Alexander, "malster" at Stirling, who died in 1729, were served shortbread, wine, and whisky. The costs were these :—

James Alexander, merchant, for aquavitæ,	£13	6	0
James Dow, merchant, for wine, .	15	6	0
Bread (shortbread), . . .	6	0	0[1]

The aquavitæ or whisky must have filled forty and the wine upwards of forty bottles.

These mortuary festivities were relished not only by the living, but the departed comforted their later hours by contemplating their occurrence. Dean Ramsay relates that an aged spinster lady in Strathspey, when she was on her deathbed, called to her bedside her grand-nephew and heir, and affectionately charged him that as much whisky was to be used at her funeral as had been drunk at her baptism. Unaware as to the extent of the potations on the earlier occasion, the heir allowed each one who attended the funeral to drink what he pleased. The result was a *contretemps* which the aged gentlewoman could not have foreseen without emotion. When the funeral party reached the churchyard, a distance of ten miles from the place of starting, the sexton's enquiry of the chief mourner, 'Captain, whaur's Miss Kitty?' aroused the company to the recollection that in resting at an inn they had there

[1] Commissariot Register of Stirling, Unrecorded Wills.

left the body on a dyke, and had started without it." In connection with the Lord President Forbes a similar incident occurred. At his mother's funeral he entertained his neighbours with such profuse hospitality, that he and his friends were startled on reaching the churchyard by the discovery that the coffin had been forgotten. At the funeral of the Hon. Alexander Fraser of Lovat in 1815, several persons overcome with liquor fell into the vault; and the carousals which in 1817 attended the funeral of the Chisholm were accompanied with some fatal incidents.

Funeral festivities have led to strife, even to fatal conflicts. At a funeral procession at Meigle, in 1707, David Ogilvie of Clunie, quarrelling by the way with his neighbour, Andrew Couper, younger of Lochblair, discharged a pistol at him, when he fell from his horse mortally wounded. Ogilvie who was thoroughly inebriated, was sheltered for some weeks by the writer's great-grandfather, who resided in the district. Thereafter he found shelter in France.

At another funeral tragedy, an ancestor of the writer was unhappily a chief offender. James Carnegie of Finhaven, grandson of David, second Earl of Northesk, had been attending at Forfar the funeral of a niece, a daughter of Carnegie of Lour. After the funeral he adjourned to a tavern along with Lyon of

Bridgeton and the Earl of Strathmore. Carnegie and Lyon drank heavily, and the latter, who was of an overbearing temper, began to upbraid the former with harsh and unbecoming epithets. At length as they walked out, he pitched Carnegie into a ditch. Mad with resentment Carnegie, who had hitherto been silent, plunged his sword towards his assailant. Perceiving his purpose, Lord Strathmore pushed Lyon aside, but unhappily received in his own body a fatal wound. On a trial, Carnegie was acquitted.

Among persons of rank funeral festivities were seriously expensive. The cost incurred in interring a baron of Roslin, led to an Act of Parliament being passed in 1681 "restraining the exorbitant expense of marriages, baptisms, and funerals." The Act restricts the attendance at funerals to numbers proportioned to the rank of the deceased; it also "prohibits and discharges the using or carrying of any branches, banners, and other honours at church, except only the eight branches to be upon the pall, or upon the coffin where there is no pall." At the funeral of a nobleman might only be present one hundred persons.

The enactment of 1681 seems scarcely to have touched the evil which it was intended to overcome. Extravagant expenditure at funerals continued, both in the Highlands and Lowlands. The festivities at the burial of Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh, in

December 1731, involved a cost which embarrassed the chief of clan Mackintosh for a century. Sir William Hamilton, a Lord of Session by the title of Lord Whitelaw, who died in 1704, was interred with a ceremonial which cost £5189 Scots, being more than two years of his salary as a judge. The bills were settled by his widow, but when she contracted a second marriage she sought and obtained a decree, transferring the burden to the heir. The funeral expenses of Hugh Campbell of Calder, in 1616, amounted to £1647, 16s., 4d. This expenditure included a charge for whisky equal to one-fourth of the amount.

Funeral rites varied. In the seventeenth century, persons who had approved a high ritual were buried at night by torch-light. In this manner were interred at Stirling, in 1636, the remains of Sir Anthony Alexander, second son of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. During the same century, were conducted, under direction of the Lord Lyon, several funeral processions of imposing magnificence. Great state attended the funeral of Walter first Earl of Buccleuch, in 1654. The funeral party proceeded from Branxholm to Hawick, some on foot, others on horseback. In front marched forty-six salies or hired mourners, with hoods and bearing black staves. Preceded by a trumpeter, followed on horseback the landed representatives of the clan

Scott, bearing a vast banner displaying the arms of the departed. A vast concourse followed. A description of the funeral procession of Chancellor the Duke of Rothes, as performed on the 23rd August 1681, occupies six quarto pages of Hugo Arnot's "History of Edinburgh."

The funerals of Highland chiefs were attended by thousands, the processions extending to between one and two miles in length. At these processions were chanted, at intervals, the *coronach* or lamentation. Poured forth by an hundred voices it awakened the echoes, and as an expression of tragic grief was singularly effective. At Highland funerals, the coronach was latterly superseded by the pibroch. When a Lord Provost of Edinburgh died in office his remains were conducted to the place of burial by an imposing procession, of which an account was recorded in the civic register.

Under the persistent efforts of the clergy, the people became at length aroused to the impropriety of assuaging grief by intoxicants. For half a century the refreshments offered to funeral parties have consisted chiefly in edibles. We have been favoured with the account for refreshments incurred in October 1811, at the funeral of Samuel Brown, farm-overseer at Ballochneil in Carrick, and maternal uncle of the poet Burns. The principal item is "plain short-

bread," of which were used "four pecks, at seven shillings per peck."

Bell-ringing at funerals, common in Roman Catholic times, was continued after the Reformation. Early in the seventeenth century, the church officer of St Cuthbert's walked in front of every funeral party, ringing a handbell; he received for this service a small fee. Bell-ringing arrangements varied.

At Alloa the beadle's fee for the funeral bell was thirteen shillings and fourpence. During the seventeenth century, persons of quality at Airth in Stirlingshire were expected to make liberal payments for the tolling of the parish bell when their relatives were buried. To the Kirksession of that parish in March 1683 were paid £2, 18s. for the use of the bell at the funeral of "Lady Airth," and when the laird of Airth died in the July following, his executors presented to the session a bell-fee of eight rix-dollars.[1]

When in 1734 forty-two of the principal parishioners of Tough parish, Aberdeenshire, purchased a new church bell, they stipulated that at deaths in their families "the bell be rung once before the day of interment, that is, when the officer gets the first notice of a contributor's death, and then upon the day of interment from morning until the coffin be laid down in the ground, in the manner that

[1] Airth Parish Register.

bells ought to be rung at funerals, and that by no other person than the officer allenarlie."[1] At Inverness were kept two sets of funeral bells, one for the rich, the other for the poor. In the parish burial register the words "big bells" are added to the funeral entries of persons of quality.

When a funeral procession enters the churchyard the beadle or sexton reverently spreads over the coffin a funeral pall. This pall, or mortcloth, is a parochial investment for behoof of the poor; hence its use, though left to discretion, is attended with a compulsory fee. In Banffshire parishes, opulent families were for the mortcloth expected to pay thirty shillings, and husbandmen and others eighteen shillings. Practically the tax was a fee upon interments. At Stirling, in 1729, the mortcloth fee was £4, 10s. Scots; at Alloa, about the same period, £3, 13s. 4d.[2]

To primitive modes of burial we referred in a former chapter. Mound interments preceded the Christian age. The early ecclesiastics were buried in their churches, and when interment within places of worship had ceased elsewhere, clergymen in the isles desired that their remains might rest within the walls in which they had preached. Mr Aulay Macaulay, minister of Harris, who died

[1] Tough Parish Register.

[2] Funeral Accounts of Andrew and William Alexander.

in 1736, had his remains deposited within the parish church at the entrance passage. The shell was placed at a small depth, and when some twenty years afterwards, the church officer was repairing the earthen floor, the minister's skull was found protruding from the surface.

The General Assembly of October 1576 ruled that burials "should not be made in the kirk," those who contravened the injunction being held liable to excommunication. But a practice which largely prevailed prior to the Reformation might not readily be overcome. Accordingly, landowners and others long continued to insist on intramural interment. Landowners were buried under their pews. From the Records of the Presbytery of Lanark we, on this subject, glean some curious particulars. Before the Presbytery appeared, on the 31st March 1625, John Mure, laird of Ancistoun, who "confessit his fault both in taking the key of the kirk doore of Symington frome the minister, as also in burying his father within the samyn." Mure was dismissed with an admonition, on becoming bound "to abstain from all kirk burial in tyme coming." Before the Presbytery appeared, on the 28th March 1639, the laird of Shieldhill, who acknowledged his offence "in burieing his wyffe in the kirk of Quothquan, by forcibly entering the structure;" he was sentenced to publicly

avow "his fault" in presence of the congregation. A more flagrant offender was reported to the Presbytery in September 1642. One of the brethren stated that "John Bertram, younger, his ruling elder, did wyle the key of the kirk from his kirk officer, under pretence of seeking something he had lost, and did quietlie make a grave in the kirk, just foragainst the pulpitt, contrare to the actes of the Generall Assemblie, and wold no wayes be stopped, nor hindered by him to bury within the kirk." Bertram was summoned, but the issue does not appear. A strict injunction against burying in places of worship was issued by the General Assembly of 1643, and the practice all but ceased. Yet, if we are to accept the testimony of Father Hay, the St Clairs, barons of Roslin, were up to the year 1650 deposited in a vault of Roslin Chapel, while each baron of the house was in death borne forth panoplied in the armour he had used in life.

In the Isles, the mode of sepulture was strangely primitive. In Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides, bodies were buried clad in graveclothes, but uncoffined. The graves were in depth only one or two feet. At Caithness, bodies were placed with the heads northward; in the eastern lowlands the graves were uniformly fashioned, so that the feet rested towards the east. In certain localities, a superstition

prevailed, that the body was in the grave only safe from evil influence if prior to interment it was three several times carried round the church in the direction of the sun. In 1641 the Presbytery of St Andrews specially condemned this usage and prohibited its observance. On the 8th March 1648, the same Presbytery resolved that "whereas there is a superstitious practice of makeing graves upon the Lord's day, quhen it may be convenientlie eschewed, the Presbyterie do appoint that no graves be made vpon the Lord's day, bot in case of urgent necessitie allowed by the minister and session."

At Cleish, in Kinross-shire, a portion of rock situated about a quarter of a mile to the east of the parish church is popularly known as "the lecture stone;" it was in pre-Reformation times used at funerals as a rest for the coffin during the performance of a religious ceremonial. At Orwell, in the same county, at the west end of the old glebe is another "lecture stone" associated with the same practice. The latter is referred to in a Kinross-shire sasine, dated 22nd March 1746.

In pre-Reformation times a *funeral mass of requiem* was observed annually in commemoration of those of the departed who had by endowment or otherwise provided for this service. Survivors of the loved or notable also made provision for this annual solemnity. On the eve of celebration-day was in the residence of survivors observed the *dergen*, which

consisted in the utterance of words of lamentation. The mass of requiem which next day followed was held as efficacious in purifying the soul from the stain of sin, and so advancing it in blessedness.

Till a recent period the bodies of unbaptized children were buried apart from the graves of the baptized; in some parishes their remains were deposited under the eaves of the church.

At Edinburgh, a lonely graveyard at St Leonard's Hill was apportioned to suicides. These were ordinarily buried on the march between two counties, on mountain tops, and at low-water mark on the sea beach.

Lowland funerals are attended only by men, but in the uplands women clad in red cloaks are occasionally present. Conformably with the Registration Act of 1854, the Death Registers, prior to 1820, have been deposited in the General Registry Office, and it is now provided that after the occurrence of a death, the nearest relative present is bound to personally attend at the office of the registrar to certify the event.

The earliest registers of deaths are those of Aberdeen, which commence in 1560; Perth, beginning in 1561; and the Canongate, beginning in 1565. The Burial Registers of the Canongate and Greyfriars' churchyards, Edinburgh, severally commence in 1612 and 1658. Death Registers in rural parishes generally begin in the eighteenth century; they are usually defective.

Members of the Associate Church had a few burial-places of their own, and in connection with these preserved special registers. Embittered feelings between the Established Church and their dissenting brethren was surely at its height, when the session-clerk of Mauchline, writing in 1768, inserted in the register these words, in capital letters: "Hugh Campbell, a Seceder, cut his own throat on the 3rd of January"!

In the Death Register of the Canongate, the assassination of David Rizzio is notified among the earlier entries. The event is recorded thus: "Monsr. Singnor David ves slane in Halyrudhous the ix day of Merche anno 1565."

In the Canongate register Lord Darnley's murder is thus entered: "The Kyng's grace blawen vp with buder in the Kirk of Feild the x of Februar 1566." The event is more circumstantially chronicled in the Register of Aberdeen, but under a wrong date. Thus: "The nynt day of Fabruar the zeir of God 1566 zeris, hendry Stwartt lord Darly, Kyng of Scotland, quha maratt Mare Stwartt, queyne of Scotland, doathar to Kyng James the fyft, was crwelly mwrdryst wnder nyt. in Edinburg in the Kowgeatt at the Kyrk of fydall, be James habewn, wyquhell Erll of Boydwall, and odris his assisteris quhais deed God to rewnge. So be it."

The slaughter of the Earl of Murray is notified in

various registers. Giving an inaccurate date, the registrar at Perth writes :—"The xviii day of Januar anno LXIX years, wes the regeant slayne in Lythko at x houris afore nvyn." The session-clerk of Aberdeen records the event thus : "The twenty-thre day of Januar, the yeir of God 1569 zyrs, James, erll of Murray, Lord Abernethie, regent to the Kyng and realme of Scotland, was crwelly murderist and schoitt in the toun of Lythco, be ane false traytoure, James Hamyltoun of bodywallhaucht, be the cosspyrase and traissvn of his aun servant Wilyem Kyrcaldy, and Johne Hamyltoun, bludy bischoip of Sanctandrois, quhois deid we pray God to rewenge. So be itt."

With much particularity does the Aberdeen registrar make record of the massacre of St Bartholomew, and the murder of Admiral Coligny on the 24th August 1572. The latter event he "prays God to rewenge."

From the parish records of Kinghorn we learn that Mr John Moncreiff, minister of that parish, being most zealous on behalf of the Covenant, induced many of his elders and parishioners to join the standard of General Baillie prior to the battle of Kilsyth. At that battle, fought on the 15th August 1645, the General was, with great slaughter, defeated by the Marquis of Montrose, a result which involved many families at Kinghorn in bereavement and consequent distress. Many of the elders were among the slain. There was much bitter reflection,

for few of the bereaved understood the real nature of the controversy which had made them desolate. On the 11th October, or about two months after the battle, Janet Smith was arraigned before the Session for railling on one of the bailies, calling him "muckle keited carle," and "wishing or saying the curse of God would come on him who had made so manie fatherless bairns in the town be sending them to Kilsyth." And on the 4th November, Janet Moyes was summoned for "cursing Patrick Boswell, as causing the death of her sonne at Kilsyth." Some time thereafter, Margaret Wallace, whose husband was also slain, was brought up for expressing a wish that "there was not a living man in all Kinghorne."

At the Restoration, those who had suffered on behalf of the royal family were honoured and elevated. The Marquis of Montrose was dead, but his remains were disinterred at the Burgh Muir, and from thence conveyed to Edinburgh, where, after remaining four months in state in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, they were borne to St Giles' Church, and there deposited with great pomp. In the Edinburgh Register of Burials is the event thus chronicled:—"11 May 1661. The Ry^t. Hon^bl. James Marquis of Montros, Erlle of Kincairdin, Lord Grahame and Mugdok, His Maiesties lait commissioner and Capitaine Generall for the kingdome of Scotland, and kyn^t

of most hon^bl. order of the Gairter, was conveyit from the kirk of Halyrudhous with great honour and solemnitie to Sanct Gills kirk and buryed."

At a subsequent period, some of those who had suffered in the cause of Presbytery and arbitrary government, were in their remains similarly honoured. This is notified in the Greyfriars Register by the following entry:—"Robert Garvock, Patrick Forman, James Stewart, David Fernie, Alexander Russell, wes execute in the Gallowlee for owning the truth, upon the 10 day of October 1681 years, and ther heads fixt upon Bristo Port, taken doun and buried privatlie in Louristone Yeards, now accidentlie dug up upon the 15 day of October 1726, and buried decentlie upon the 19 day of the said month in the Greyfriere Church yeard, close to the Martiers Tomb."

In the Greyfriars Register the following entry records the death and burial of the learned Sir Robert Sibbald:—"Sir Robert Sibbald of Kippo, Doctor of Medicine, aged eighty-two years. Died 9th August 1722. Buried 12th, within Phesdo's ground, near to the east end thereof." According to the popular biographers, Sir Robert Sibbald died "about the year 1712."

Jane Baillie Welsh, the accomplished wife of Thomas Carlyle, has been erroneously described as a descendant of John Knox. She sprung from the Dumfries-

shire family of Walsh or Welsh, which produced John Welsh, husband of Elizabeth, third and youngest daughter of the great reformer. Nicolas Welsh, abbot of Tongland in 1488, belonged to a family of whom two members, Dean Robert Welsh, vicar of Tynron, and John Welsh, vicar of Dunscore, embraced the Protestant doctrines. John Welsh, owner of the lands of Colliston and others in the parishes of Dunscore and Holywood, was ancestor of John Welsh of Craigenputtock, progenitor of Mrs Carlyle. This gentleman died in February 1772, and his testament and inventory are recorded in the Commissariot Register of Dumfriesshire. According to the inventory, his household effects were of the total value of £27, 0s. 2d. sterling, including the sum of £11, the estimated value of his live stock, which consisted of thirty-four ewes and lambs, thirteen "old yell sheep, ten hogs, a cow, and a stirk."

By entries in the Death Registers do we discover some remarkable instances of longevity. In the Register of Mauchline it is recorded that Margaret Paton died on the 15th March 1807, aged 106 years, 7 months, and 10 days; and that John Mair, "indweller in Mauchline," died on the 21st November 1807, at the age of 105. In the Crieff Baptismal Register, we learn that Isabel, daughter of John Taylor in Greenhead, was baptized on the 5th May 1717; she died at Edinburgh on the 23rd April 1818,

at the age of 101. Ann Wallace, sister of Robert Wallace of Kelly, M.P., died in 1872 ; she was born in the Barony parish on the 1st July 1770. Mrs Murray, *nèe* Katherine Bell, died at Crail on the 1st August 1862. While in the possession of perfect health she sustained an accidental fall attended with a fracture, which proved fatal. Mrs Murray was born in the parish of Kingsbarns on the 19th September 1761.

The parish of Dunnet in Caithness is remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants. George Cowper, who was baptized on the 3rd March 1771, died on the 10th July 1872. Donald Sutherland, a native of Eddrachillis, died at Brough in Dunnet, on the 8th September 1876, aged 102 ; and there on the 5th May 1875, died James Jack at the age of 101.

Mr James Ingram, minister of the Free Church, Unst, died on the 3rd March 1879 ; he was born at Logie-Colston, Aberdeenshire, on the 3rd April 1776. His father lived to the age of 100, and his grandfather died in his 105th year. At Unst, on the 29th August 1882, died at Colvidale, Anne Nisbet, who had two weeks before reached her 102d birthday. At Brechin, on the 7th March 1883, died Mrs John Alexander, *nèe* Jean Wyllie ; she was born on the farm of Beatson, near Stewarton, on the 2nd September 1781.

From the register of the united parishes of Glen-

orchay and Inishail we have the following : " August 24, 1790. Baptized William, son to John Macfarlane, piper. At the baptism of the above child to John Macfarlane, piper, were present the father and mother, the grandfather and grandmother, and the great-grandfather and great-grandmother, the two last strong and vigorous, viz., John Morrison and Anne Macdougall, in Edendorrich."

In the Burial Registers of Edinburgh, the mortality entries are yearly summarized. These annual reckonings show that early in the eighteenth century, nearly two-thirds of the population died in childhood, and that the deaths of adult females doubled those of adult males. A diminution in the death-rate appears in 1741, when the interments include 276 males, 401 females, and 942 children. This computation embraces both the city and the landward parish of St Cuthberts. Accepting the commonly received report that the inhabitants of the place, in 1741, numbered 50,000, we discover that the mortality was at the rate of 34 per 1000. The mean mortality of the city for the years 1869-1878, as derived from the Registrar-General's returns, is 24 per 1000, showing a decrease in the death-rate since 1741 of 10 per 1000. It further appears that while, in 1741, for every seven adults there died ten children, four children for every seven adults is the present average.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAND AND ITS CULTIVATORS.

Writes Mr Tudor: "The source or fountain from which all honour and rights of property were derived, lying in the land itself, the first occupancy of which was held to confer, as it were, a patent of nobility on all descendants of the first possessor, the tenant for life was the *Odaller*, or *Udaller*, as in more modern times he has come to be called, a name derived from Odal, *allodium* as contradistinguished from *feodum*, whilst his male descendants were Odal-born, having rights *in futuro* over their fathers' land or real property, of which they were unable to divest themselves. Society was thus divided into two classes, the Odal-born or Freemen and the Thralls, Serfs or Unfree. An Odaller's real estate, on his decease, became equally divisible amongst all his family; the only privilege accorded to seniority being that the eldest son could claim the head *Buil* or Chemis place, *i.e.*, the chief manor or farm. If disputes arose as to the due division of the property, it was settled by a *Schynd*, or inquest held by the Odallers who constituted the local Thing, or court of the district.[1]

1 "The Orkneys and Shetland, their Past and Present State," by John R. Tudor. Lond., 1883, 8vo, p. 18.

In Orkney and Shetland, where the allodial or odal system prevailed, the sale of land was direct and absolute from the granter to the grantee. The odaller owed no vassalage even to his sovereign, but voluntarily made himself subject to a scat or assessment for the public service.

Up to 1468 the Crown of Scotland paid an annual tribute to the King of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway for the Isle of Man and the Hebrides. But on the 8th September of that year, Christian I., in view of his only daughter Margaret being married to James III., relieved Scotland of the tribute, and further pledged the islands of Orkney to the Scottish monarchy, till he had made payment of 60,000 florins as his daughter's dowry. Though the scat or land-tax of the islands was conveyed to the Scottish exchequer, the sum of two thousand crowns only was realised. Notwithstanding this failure, a claim to the islands was, on behalf of the sovereign of Denmark, made upwards of a century afterwards. The occasion of the demand is thus chronicled by John Scott in his MS. book of protocols:[1] "Monunday, the fyft of Julij 1585, the king of Danmarkis embassadouris came to St Androis and lugeit in Henry Lawmontis hous in Sanct Androis, and thair abaid fywe oulkis vpon the king of Scotlandis anser of thair commissioun

[1] Protocol Book of John Scott, 1575-1586, in the General Register House.

for the redemptioune of the landis of Orknay and Zatland, quha came to St Androis with his nobilitie to that effect on the xxviiith of Julij 1585, and maid to theime ane gryte banket on Sunday the viiith day of August 1585, and gaif thame thair ansour in wrytt. And on Monnunday the ixth day of Augest thairafter the king past furth of St Androis to Burlie and thairafter to Striviling, and the embassatouris to their schippis to the east ferrye roid." By Sir James Melville is presented a circumstantial account of the embassy. There were three ambassadors, two being councillors of state, and they were attended with a retinue of one hundred and twenty persons, who were accommodated "in twa braue schippis."

While mildly setting forth their sovereign's claim upon the isles, — a claim under the circumstances wholly untenable,—the ambassadors expressed in the most becoming manner that their royal master was willing that the league between the countries might be strengthened by intermarriage. Their purpose was discovered by Queen Elizabeth, who instructed Wotton, her envoy, to induce dissension between the parties, in which but for the interposition of Sir James Melville he had succeeded. The result of the negotiation was that after an interval of four years, Anna of Denmark became consort of King James.[1]

The feudal system of land tenure, arising from the

[1] "Sir James Melville's Memoirs," 1827, 4to, 336-371.

tie of service in contradistinction to the tie of blood, under the allodial custom, arose out of that consolidation of royal authority, which has been traced as obtaining origin in the reign of Malcolm II.[1] (1004-34). About a century thereafter the feudal modes were fully maintained by Alexander I., who, asserting a right to the soil, confirmed the tenures of those landowners who acknowledged his authority. On the instrument of grant, a bit of sheepskin, he expressed his sanction by making with a pen the sign of the cross, a mode of verifying documents which by those who cannot write exists in our own times.

The feudal system brought into operation by Alexander I. was consolidated by David I. By the latter were Saxon and Norman settlers invited from the south to obtain for payment vast tracts of unappropriated territory. In the British Museum is preserved a charter of David I., in which he grants to Robert de Brus certain lands in the valley of the Nith. Like the charters of preceding reigns the instrument is extremely brief; it includes a list of witnesses. During the reign of David and several of his royal successors, the witnesses to charters, who always included churchmen, were usually from seven to fifteen in number. What money was by David

[1] "Scotland under her early Kings," by E. W. Robertson. Edinb., 1862, 8vo, II., 101.

received for lands from foreign settlers he beneficently devoted to the erection and endowment of religious houses.

The Scottish feudal system was vigorously upheld. From time to time in the Western Highlands successive sovereigns are found demanding of the landowners an exhibition of their charters, and confiscating those who could not produce them.

By the feudal system the nobility and barons became bound to uphold the power and sustain the dignity of the crown. And when any of their number proved obnoxious to the King and his royal advisers, he was declared rebel and forfeited. It was to restrain the sovereign and his advisers from the exercise of these despotic severities that the Parliament of 1685 passed the law of entail, whereby possessors of land were enabled to secure them in favour of such heirs as they might select. That act was so generally utilised, that two-thirds of the land in the kingdom, often whole parishes, were made secure to designated heirs. Favoured by the enactment, many landowners who joined in the insurrections of 1715 and 1745 were enabled to avoid forfeiture by the professed loyalty of their sons. Legislative provisions respecting the law of entail have been passed recently, and doubtless under the strong pressure of public sentiment the soil will ere long be liberated from an incubus the outcome of a despotic

age and which has in better times been felt to repress industry and fetter enterprise.

Apart from the earls and great barons arose in the reign of David I. that large class of freeholders by knight-service, who became the lesser barons or *lairds* of a later age. A ploughgate was that portion of land which eight oxen were supposed to be able to bring into tillage in the course of a year; it consisted of 104 acres, and was virtually the equivalent of the hide or carucate, which in English measurement embraced 120 acres. A davoch, derived from the Celtic *damh*, pronounced *dav*, an ox, and *ach*, a field, embraced four ploughgates or carucates, that is 416 acres. The possession of a ploughgate was held to constitute a freeholder—being in the valuation called the "Old Extent," passed in the thirteenth century, reckoned of the value of three merks or forty shillings. By granting political qualifications to those small proprietors who were styled freeholders, the sovereign was enabled to counterbalance the ascendancy of the great barons. Freehold privileges in respect of the election of members to serve in Parliament continued till the passing of the first Reform Act in 1832.

Lairds had their appellative from a corrupted form of the Saxon lord, derived in turn from the words *hlâf*, a loaf, and *ord*, a place. To the present time in the Highlands the laird or untitled landowner is

more frequently designated by the name of his property than by his surname.

The other territorial quantities were husband-land, the equivalent of the English virgate. This consisted of two bovates or oxgangs—that is, twenty-six acres, for thirteen acres was the measure which an ox was held equal to bring into tillage in the course of a year. The possessor of husband-land became familiarly known as the *gudeman*, an appellative which, originally associated with a portion of ground, came to be applied to the better class of yeomen, and latterly as an ordinary title of respect to any male householder.

Both among the Celts and Saxons the rule of succession in heritage implied that on the death of a landowner his successor should be a male. This obviously arose from the consideration that physical strength was essential to the maintenance of territory. And under the law of tanistry which obtained in Ireland, also in ancient Morayshire, an able-bodied male representative of a deceased chief might be chosen his successor, apart from those nearer in kin. On this principle infant sons and guardians were rejected in favour of kinsmen, who might personally, or by their retainers, defend the family honours.

The legal acquisition or transfer of land was cumbrous and costly. A crown charter was obtained by a complicated process. A signature containing the

substance of the charter required having been handed to the Presenter of Signatures, it was by him borne to the Judges in Exchequer. By an Exchequer Judge, attended by a Writer to the Signet, it was compared with the preceding charter, and if found correct handed for transcription in the Exchequer Record. Returned to the Presenter, it was next conveyed to the Office of the Great Seal, and there impressed with the cachet, a facsimile of the sign-manual. This constituted a warrant for a precept being framed in Latin, and under the signet passed to the Keeper of the Great Seal. This act of process served as a warrant for the charter being extended under the Director of Chancery. When so extended the Great Seal was attached, and the document entered in the Register of Chancery, was complete. Large fees were exacted. The sealing of crown charters was dispensed with by the Titles of Land Act passed in 1858, when other useless and costly forms were also abrogated.

Under the feudal system an heir even to the most inconsiderable portion of soil, behoved to obtain "heritable state and seisin, and real, actual, and corporal possession." When a certain part of the process had been proceeded with in chancery, the portion of land into which the heir was to be served, or the purchaser invested, was visited by a group of persons. These were the superior or

vendor, his bailie and his notary; also the heir or purchaser, with his attorney or law agent, and two male witnesses; in all seven persons.[1] Arriving on the ground, the vassal's attorney, in presence of the superior or vendor, displayed his charter or warrant of sale, which, handing to the bailie, he in turn passed to the notary, who unfolded it, and explaining to the witnesses the nature of the transaction, read the precept of service. When this instrument was returned to him by the notary, the bailie provided himself with earth and stone, which he handed to the vassal's attorney. Having received the symbol of possession, the attorney placed a silver coin, which he called *instruments*, in the hands of the notary, protesting that the feudal investiture of his client was complete. Thereupon followed a deed of infeftment, commencing with the words, "In the name of God. Amen." Framed by rural attorneys, with a due regard to the security of the state, as well as the safety of their clients, some writs of sasine exhibited a strange diction. Thus at Stirling, on the 27th December 1727, Anna Alexander was served heir to her father in the lands of Westerton of Tillicoultry—a most inconsiderable holding; yet her attorney conceived himself entitled to burden her instrument of sasine

[1] It was not legally essential that the superior and heir or vendor and purchaser should be present at an infeftment.

with the following jargon:—"As also it is hereby specially provided and declared that in case it shall happen that the said Anna Alexander to be convict of murder, common theft, or wilfull resett of common theft, that the said person so convict shall thereby amitt and tyne their infeftment of the feufarm of the said lands."

Feudatory symbols were originally staff and baton. They subsequently varied with the character of the subjects. Thus for lands and houses the symbols were earth and stone; for mills, clap and happer; for burgage tenements, hasp and staple; for teinds, grass and corn; for fishings, net and coble; and for a right to ferry, an oar and water. The bailies of the Abbey of Cupar, in the fifteenth century, granted to feuars on their lands symbols of "earth, tree, and stone," and when buildings were conveyed, gave symbols of "thack and duffat," that is, of thatch and sod.

By an Act passed in 1845, the ceremony of infeftment on the lands and the use of symbols were abolished, and it was provided that sasine could be effectually given and infeftment obtained by producing the warrant to a notary, and expeding and recording an instrument of sasine in terms of the Act.

A General Register of Sasines is kept at Edinburgh, also Particular Registers of Sasine in connection with the several counties and burghs, the latter being periodically deposited in the Register House. Other

records connected with the administration of landed property include the Registers of Entails, Adjudications, Inhibitions, Interdictions, Deeds, and Probative Writs; also the important registers of the Great and of the Privy Seal.

The lands which under the feudal system were originally granted by charter, were those adapted for tillage. In the earlier times of cultivation, the incipient husbandman scattered his seed on the seaboard, on the margins of rivers, and amidst the accumulations of debris resting upon mountain slopes. On these last were formed terraces, occasionally protected by a series of dwarf walls rising at regular intervals. Such terraces remain on the eastern side of Arthur's Seat,[1] at Purves Hill, Newlands, and Kilbucho, Peeblesshire, at Dunsyre, Lanarkshire, and on a hill at Markinch, Fifeshire.[2] Terraces supported

[1] Arthur's Seat is a corruption of *Ard-tir-sceat*, signifying the heights of the Scot.

[2] See Dr Daniel Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," 2nd edit., 1863, 8vo, Vol. I., pp. 492-4; also a Paper by Dr Robert Chambers on "Ancient Terraces of Cultivation, commonly called Daisses," in the "Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries," Vol. I., pp. 127-133. If, as is believed, Britain was a corn-growing country, sending grain to the continent before the arrival of the Romans, we may readily ascribe to these balks or terraces an antiquity beyond the Christian era. And as on the terraces of Arthur's Seat have been recovered masses of melted bronze, the construction might with no undue stretch of fancy be attributed to the Bronze or Phœnician Age. The hill-terrace method of culture was early adopted in Palestine, and it still prevails on the slopes of Lebanon.

by substantial stone-work are distinctly traceable at the *haining*, or south-western slope of Stirling Rock.

While the feudal barons obtained grants of scenes of ancient cultivation, their charters bore that the *pertinents* likewise were conveyed. And so by a liberal interpretation of a phrase which meant only the narrow skirts around their lands, were gradually appropriated vast tracts of common land, which really belonged to the inhabitants.[1]

The seizure of vast tracts of forest would have been an unprofitable acquisition, if attended with the maintenance of those who had derived from the product a rude support. It therefore became essential to secure the rights of pertinents by claiming not only the soil, but a proprietorship in those who occupied it. These were described as *adscripti glebæ*, that is, they were held to belong to the soil, as aught else found upon its surface, whether animate or inanimate.

Those enslaved persons were variously designed neyfs, ceorles, villains, bond-serfs, and native-men. Denied every social privilege, and subjected to perpetual toil, they were required to testify submission to the overlord by bending reverently before him, at the same same pulling their forelocks. Touching or seizing the forelock is a kind of salute which still prevails among the peasantry. If a slave attempted

[1] "Scotch Legal Antiquities," by Cosmo Innes, Edin. 1872, *passim.*

to deny his servitude or to effect his escape, his lord was entitled to deprive him of all he possessed save fourpence, and in open court to pull his nose.[1] On the establishment of burghs, serfs obtained their first earnest of freedom, consequent on the burghal law, which ruled that anyone bound in servitude, who remained one year and a day in a royal burgh without detection, thereby became free. By the same law it was provided that as serfs were restricted to particular estates they might not be sold except in connection with the soil. The Church was the great emancipator. Rich, and increasing in riches, while the landowners remained poor, abbots and monks acquired serfs readily. Nor might secular authority wrest them from the Church. There is preserved in the diocesan treasury at Durham, a letter of Malcolm IV. (1153-1165), which translated reads thus:—"Malcolm, King of Scots, to all good men of his whole land, greeting. I command that wherever the Prior of Goldingaham [Coldingham] or his servants can find fugitive serfs justly belonging to Goldingaham, they shall have them justly without disturbance or trouble; and I forbid that any of you detain them unjustly, on pain of my prohibition. Witnesses, Walter the Chancellor, Hugh of Moreville. At Berewic." From William the Lion (1165-1214) the abbot of Scone received a precept, authorizing him or

[1] Robertson's "Scotland under her early Kings," vol. ii. p. 314.

his sergeant to receive two fugitive slaves, which belonged to the lands of the abbey.

Sales of serfs to abbeys and convents are frequently notified. To the monks of Kelso, about the year 1170, Earl Waldev of Dunbar sold "Halden and his brother William and all their descendants." In Part I. of "Facsimiles of the National MSS.," No. 54, is presented the copy of an instrument, executed in the reign of Alexander II. (1214-1249), whereby on a payment of three merks, a serf with his sons and daughters became the property of Coldingham Priory. In English, the document thus proceeds :—"To all who may see or hear these letters, Bertram, son of Adam of Lesser Riston, greeting. Be it known to you all that I have granted, sold, and for myself and my heirs, entirely quit-claimed to the Prior and Convent of Coldingham, Turkil Hog and his sons and his daughters, for three merks of silver, which in my necessity they gave me, of money of the House of Coldingham. Wherefore I will and grant that the foresaid Turkil and his sons and his daughters be free and quit for ever from all reclamation whether by myself or my heirs. And in witness of the transaction I have affixed my seal to the writing before these witnesses, Sir William of Mordington, Walter and Andrew of Paxton, Adam of Riston, John son of Helyas, and Maurice of Ayton, Adam of Prendergast, and many others." On the 7th May 1258, Malise

Earl of Strathearn gave to the Abbot of Inchaffray, John, surnamed Staines, also his children and descendants. Later in the thirteenth century, Adam of Prendergast sold to the almoner of Coldingham, Stephen Fitz Waldev along with his followers and goods.

At the abbey of Dunfermline was kept a sort of stud-book, containing pedigrees of slaves on the estate, with their marriages, names of the persons whom the daughters had married, and the *merchet* or tax paid by bondmen when they gave their daughters in marriage, and so deprived the abbey of their services.

Slaves belonging to the Church were recompensed by stipulated wages. By the chartulary of Dunfermline we are informed of a gradual emancipation. On the feast of St Peter *ad vincula* 1320, was held in the chapel of Logie, an inquest concerning the immunities which the men of Tweeddale belonging to the abbey claimed from the abbot. They desired, first, to be delivered from the lay courts by having allowed them a bailiff of their own race; secondly, that any of their number falling into poverty might be sustained by the monastery; and thirdly, that those chargeable with manslaughter should be sheltered in the monastery. By a jury these demands were conceded, but a further request that a portion of any fine inflicted upon them for homicide should

be paid out of the abbey revenues was rejected. Twenty years later, by formal charters, the abbot and convent of Dunfermline declared Marcornie and certain other bondmen to be free, and allowed them to obtain lands on a yearly rent. The last process for recovering a neyf was presented before the Sheriff of Banffshire, in 1364, when Alexander Bar, bishop of Moray, obtained the verdict of an assize, finding that Robert Nevyn and Robert Urie were liege men of the church at Moray, and therefore the property of the bishop. Neyfs are mentioned in the leases of the abbey of Cupar up to the close of the fifteenth century, but at that period the institution of slavery had practically ceased.[1]

Alexander III. was a conspicuous promoter of husbandry. His agricultural ardour is described by Wyntoun in these lines :—

> Yeoman, poor karl or knawe
> That wes of mycht an ox til hawe,
> He geat that man haive part in pluche ;
> Swa wes corne in [his] land eneuche
> Swa then begowth,[2] and efftyr lang
> Off land wes mesure, ane ox-gang.
> Mychty men, that had ma
> Oxyn, he girt in pluchys ga,

[1] Chartulary of Inchaffray ; Register of Dunfermline ; Register of Moray; Rental Book of Abbey of Cupar; Facsimiles of National MSS. Part I.; Innes's "Scotland in the Middle Ages," and "Legal Antiquities," *passim.*

[2] Began

A pluch off land efftyr that
To nowmyr off oxen mesuryd gat
Be that vertu all hys land
Off corn he gert be aboundand.

According to this description Alexander enforced agricultural industry by insisting that all who owned oxen should use them in tillage. Already had the monks begun to follow an example derived from a remote past. By initiating their dependants in the art of husbandry, they raised upon their granges wheat, bear, oats, and pease. Their monasteries were reared on lands which were unsaleable for lack of culture, but in the sheltered spots on which they were built soon appeared the smile of fertility and abundance. The Cistercian Order was by its rule devoted to agriculture. With this object they avoided ornamentation in their buildings; also in domestic furniture. Even classical learning, and the illumination of MSS. which other orders cherished they usually disregarded. To the Cistercians belonged the abbeys of Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Kinloss, Cupar, Deer, and Balmerino. At their sites may be traced the evidences of successful husbandry.

Monks not of the Cistercian rule promoted horticulture; on their mains they raised wheat, vegetables, and fruit-trees, and comfortably accommodating their employees at their granges, or chief homesteads, they sent them from thence, under charge of a lay brother,

to tend their farms, or convert into tillage their lands at a distance. By a statute of Alexander III., it was ruled that persons in journeying might according to an existing practice, quarter their beasts over night in any barony, save among growing corn, or in the hay meadow. When grain was raised on spaces in which trees had been *felled*, these were named *fields*. The forests long gave shelter to the boar, the wolf, the roe, and a species of wild cattle.

In 1435 the court of James I. was visited by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini,[1] a Papal envoy, then of the age of thirty; he in 1458 became Pope Pius II. From the narrative of his visit, which has been preserved, we derive a somewhat vivid picture of the time. The country was bleak and wild; there were few trees and little corn. A sulphureous stone, dug out of the earth, was used as fuel; it was at the churches distributed to half-clad beggars. The towns were unwalled, and the houses reared without mortar, were roofed with turf, and had doors of ox-hide. The common people lived on fish and flesh, using wheaten bread only as a dainty. The men were short in stature, but of daring enterprise; the women were fair, and saluted with their lips as freely as did Italian women with the hand. The horses were small, and were used without bridles. Trading with Flanders the people exported hides, wool, salt fish, and pearls.

[1] "Æneas Silvii Opera," pp. 443, 758.

They hated the English, who in turn disliked the Scots and dreaded their incursions."[1]

Our earliest details of Scottish farming are derived from the registers and rental-books of the religious houses. Farmers were in the thirteenth century tenants at will. Then and subsequently they farmed under the system of *steel-bow*, a compound word derived from *stahline*, permanent, and *bow*, a herd; for the stocking and implements of every farm were supplied by the landlord and made returnable to him, when the premises were quitted. This mode continues on certain dairy farms in the western counties. A century ago, the hind on a farm who was entrusted with the care of the cattle was called the bow-man.

Rent was payable in money, service, and kind. Money rent or *mail*, was ordinarily restricted to a few merks. Service consisted of personal labour for a stipulated number of days on the landlord's enclosures or home farm. In connection with the abbey of Cupar, we learn from the Rental Book,[2] that the special service of the rentallers consisted in their supplying fishing-tackle to the monks when they went a-fishing, and in providing the abbot's carriage with horses. Ordinary service comprehended the providing of fuel, the

[1] The reference here is to the lowest class of thralls, who belonging to no special jurisdiction, became the earlier wanderers.

[2] "Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar," from 1443 to 1538, 2 vols., 8vo. Grampian Club.

receiving and preparing of peat, and in driving it to the monastery along with bent, roots and branches of fallen trees. *Carriage* service was of two kinds, the *common*, and the *great draught*. The latter was required once a year, when two horses and four oxen were used in dragging to the monastery goods from Dundee and other ports.

Rent in kind embraced the produce of the *cowhouse*, which included oxen, calves, sheep and lambs, hogs and kids; of the granary, including oats, bear or barley, oaten straw and horse-corn; dairy produce, including pullets, hens, and capons, also eggs and butter.

The extinction of serfdom having been productive of indolence, a Parliamentary statute, passed in 1424, provided "that men of sempel estate that of resone suld be laborers, haf either half ane ox in the pluch, or else delff ilk werk day seven fute of lenth and seven on bredth, vnder the payn of ane ox to the king." Obtempering this rule, the members of Cupar convent in their leases to cottars of from six to nine acres of land, stipulated a rent of personal service, not to exceed nine days in the year. It was a chief provision of the monastery that without employing a neyf, the tenants should cultivate their own lands and "yairds" or gardens. The latter they were required to enclose, and plant with colewort[1]

[1] Colewort, otherwise *lang-kale*, was the usual pot herb of the cottagers' croft.

and other vegetables. To every cottar was provided a hut or rude dwelling. Cottars held direct from the monastery, also from the husbandmen; in the latter case it was provided that sub-tenants were not to be displaced without the authority of the convent. On the husbandman of Cupar was enjoined the practice of sound morals. Dick Scott in 1466 received a renewal of his lease on the condition that it would become null should he not prove "sober and temperate, preserving more strictly a kindly intercourse with his neighbours and relatives." "Tynsall of tack," that is, forfeiture of lease, was to follow conviction for theft or reset of stolen goods; also the destruction of young or the removal of old forest trees. In like manner was made punishable unchaste behaviour, also "sorning," or sponging. Any tenant whose holding included a marsh was enjoined to labour for its "recovery." In casting peats, the tenant was first to remove the superficies; then to gain his fuel by digging into the bog, but to such a depth only as to leave a vegetable layer, on which the surface soil might be replaced. By this mode fair pasture was secured. Pastures were to be irrigated from the adjoining streams.

To improve the aspects of the country, check malaria, and provide shelter, Parliament enacted in 1457 that all freeholders, both temporal and spiritual, should plant on their lands trees, hedges, and broom.

Acting upon this injunction, the monks of Cupar bound their tenants to protect trees and hedge-rows. Broom was regarded as specially adapted for wet soil; the plants there attaining great size and strength. By plantations of broom were enclosed dwellings, gardens and rabbit-warrens.

By the Cistercian brethren at Cupar, was horticulture warmly encouraged. On obtaining a renewal of his lease in 1549, the tenant of Carsgrange undertook to preserve the trees, keep open the ditches, and watch the orchard. And David Howieson, who leased the three gardens of the monastery, became bound in 1542 to cultivate onions, colewort, parsley, beet, and lettuce. He also agreed to nourish the fruit trees, prune the hedges, repair the stone fences, preserve the alleys, and keep clear the water-courses. In addition he made pledge that he would "nocht lat ane craw big within the bundis."

In the earlier times of Scottish husbandry were chiefly cultivated corn or oats, and bear or coarse barley. To secure a variety of crop, Parliament in 1426 enacted that "ilk man teland [tilling] with a pleuch of eight oxen, sal saw at the lest ilk year ane firlott of quhete, half a firlot of peis and forty benis, vnder the payn of ten shillings." Conformably with this requirement, the monks of Cupar stipulated in 1472, that their tenants should "keep the ackis of parliament in the sawyn of quhet, pess, binys and ry."

The cleansing of the land from "guld," that is, marigold, was enjoined by statute. In the Act it is set forth, not without humour, that anyone who planted "guld" deserved punishment as amply, as if he had led an army against the king and barons.[1] On the 4th November 1478, John Porter, farming the abbey lands of Navicula, at Cupar, agreed "to keep his land fra guld, ondir payn of guld law," which was the forfeiture of a sheep for every plant found on a farm.

The burning of dried moss and roots led to the general use of manure. In 1462 the monks of Cupar prescribed stable dung as useful in raising barley; also the ashes of peats, and the refuse of the brewhouse and the bakery, and the house of glebes. In raising oats, the tenants were recommended to allow their sheep and hogs and even calves, to graze upon "the blade-corn," but it was ruled that if calves were found "in the corn after the Feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist"—that is the 24th of June—they would become liable to forfeiture.

Hog feeding was discouraged. In the reign of David II. the Court of Four Burghs enacted that no burgess should permit swine to remain in the fields without a keeper; and it was one of the forest laws that they should be kept out of the plantations and

[1] Acta Parl. Scot. I., 750.

hunting ground. By Parliament it was decreed that the owner of a hog which made a hole in a meadow or open place, should be compelled to fill it with grains of wheat.[1] The monks of Cupar restricted each of their tenants to the feeding of one or two hogs only. Tenants of the abbey mills were required to pay as a portion of rent a fat boar yearly, or "ane sufficient clene-fed boar" every second year.

By a statute passed in 1449, it was provided "for the safetie and favour of the puir pepil that labouris the grunde, that thay and all utheris sall remaine with their tackes unto the ischew of their termes, quhais hands that ever thay landis cum to."

Till the middle of the fifteenth century, leases seldom extended beyond five years, but at that period was introduced a system, which has latterly obtained, of granting to substantial cultivators, a lease of nineteen years. On this subject the ingenious author of the "Beauties of Scotland"[2] offers these pertinent remarks:—"It is probable that this term was fixed upon from the golden number, or cycle of the moon, in astronomical calculations. Our ancestors who had much faith in the influence of the moon, appear to have believed that a farmer did not obtain a fair chance of success in his employment, who was

[1] Acta Parl. Scot. I. 349, 688, 728.

[2] "The Beauties of Scotland," by Robert Forsyth, 1805, 5 vols. 8vo, II. 139.

not allowed to occupy his lands for nineteen years because a complete revolution of good and bad seasons did not occur in a shorter time. During the first half of the term, he might have wet summers and bad crops; but during the remainder of the period, it was in this case supposed that he would be compensated by seasons of a contrary description."

While conforming to the usual practice in regard to the length of lease, the brethren of Cupar abbey exercised toward their tenants a considerate liberality. Married tenants were associated with their wives; it being provided that the survivor should retain the farm till the expiry of the lease. The eldest son was occasionally named with his parents, at other times the tenant was allowed to nominate his successor. When the tenant had no sons, but a daughter married, the "gude son," that is son-in-law, was conjoined with him in the lease, and when there were no children, "heirs and assignees" were named. For aged tenants, members of the convent made due provision. Thus in 1546, when a lease was granted to Andrew Oliver and his wife Ellen Allan, these were required to provide meat and clothes to John Allan, the former tenant. Orphans were in like manner provided for, guardians being appointed to them. When leases were renewed to widows, it was stipulated that if they married without permission, their rights would cease; and when a lease was

renewed to a widow with children, provision was made for the children. When the widow of a tenant married, her husband was allowed to share her tenancy; but for this privilege, as well as for a license to marry, a fee was exacted.

By Parliament in 1429, "ragyt clathes" or tattered vestments were prohibited under a penalty. In terms of this statute, the monks of Cupar enjoined that their tenants "sal be honest [respectable] in thar cleything."[1] For behoof of the humbler tenantry and of those falling into poverty, a *bursa pauperum* was kept in the monastery. Operatives and servants of the abbey were clothed in the monks' cast-off garments. In an agreement as to executing the mason work of the abbey in 1492, Thomas Moubray was promised yearly one of the Abbot's "old albs reaching to the ancles."

From their principal tenants the abbot and monks of Cupar exacted a kind of military service. In their leases, tenants became bound to keep in readiness leathern coats, bows, arrows, swords, bucklers, and axes;[2] also plated armour for the head and legs.

[1] Acta Parl. Scot. II. 18.

[2] The Scottish or Lochaber battle-axe was a formidable weapon of ancient use. Attached to a shaft of ash or other tough wood, the axe displayed a crescent face, and at the back a hook by which horsemen could be seized and dragged from their saddles. "Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Edin. 1883, 8vo, pp. 422-3.

With these weapons and protective armour, they were to defend themselves and their neighbours against robbers and vagrants. In leases granted from 1539 onwards, the chief tenantry became bound to provide one or two mounted horsemen, each furnished with a spear or lance, for the service of the queen and abbot. In his feu-charter, dated August 1550, Robert Montgomery undertook to provide an armed horseman for the defence of the abbot and convent against assailants and *heretics*. As handles for spears and lances, each principal tenant reared in his enclosures "ash-trees, sauchs, and osiers."

The summoning of armed retainers by the Fiery Cross, a Scandinavian custom, obtained in Highland districts. The Fiery Cross consisted of two sticks tied together transversely, and burnt at the ends; it was conveyed by one to another, accompanied by a single word, denoting the place of rendezvous. On receiving the symbol, every man between sixteen and sixty was obliged under the penalty of death or of having his house burned, to repair in arms to the place of meeting. According to Sir Walter Scott, the Fiery Cross often made its circuit during the Rebellion of 1745, the symbol obtaining the needful response. The military exigencies of the State were usually announced by mounted heralds.

A feudal exaction which latterly found favour in the monasteries, is by Sir David Lyndsay in his "Three Estates," made the subject of a scourging satire. The exaction which in reality was the uplifting by a superior of the best ox, or horse, or cow, from the estate of a deceased vassal, was styled herezeld or heriot, latterly *caupe* or gift. The original appellative was heregeat, signifying a war-gift, in allusion to arms being entrusted by a lord to his tenant or vassal, to be returned at the close of his war service, interpreted as the period of his death. But the practice long survived those times, when there could be any valid pretence for claiming compensation under the name of a loan, or as the privilege of protection. The right of exacting herezeld "of each pleucht gang" was in their leases reserved by the brethren of Cupar;[1] but there is no record as to the exaction having been actually made. Yet, if we are to credit Lyndsay, other religious communities were less considerate, being ready, amidst the lamentations of the bereaved, to demand the better portion of their inheritance. Long after Romish ascendancy had ceased, competing chiefs or heads of clans, three and four in number, would severally plunder the families of the bereaved under the plea of exacting caupe or herezeld. In 1617 the exaction was prohibited by

[1] No heriot was due from tenants of less than the eighth part of a ploughgate, or thirteen Scottish acres.

statute.[1] But the herezeld was not abandoned as a privilege due to the actual superior till 1703, when the right of exacting it was commuted into a payment of twenty merks.

As landlords, churchmen were in the earlier times benevolent and liberal. Among those known as "kindly tenants of the Church," Professor Innes recognises a prototype in the *hosbernus*, described in the Rental of Kelso of the twelfth century as "our *man* or administrator."[2] This description of tenant occupied a place midway between the great vassals of the Church, who ranked next to the freeholders of the Crown—and the conventual husbandmen. Sons of the lesser barons, they held rank as "lay brothers." The landed family of Porterfield in Renfrewshire traced descent from one who was porter of Paisley abbey. John Porter, porter of the convent of Cupar, had, in virtue of his office, a considerable portion of land. His office, which became hereditary, was transferred by his heirs in 1589 to a member of the family of Ogilvie, now represented by the Earl of Airlie.

From the convent of Cupar, William Roger, of the family of Roger of Redie, leased in 1454 a twelfth part of the Grange lands of Cupar; his descendant of the same name was in 1542 bailie-depute of the regality, and in virtue of his office "a kindly tenant."

[1] Acta Parl. Scot. IV., 548.

[2] "Scotland in the Middle Ages," 140.

On the dissolution of the convent the eldest son of the bailie became a portioner of the lands; he is represented by the present writer.

In earlier times the four husbandmen who together rented a ploughgate, worked in common, assisted by their cottars or hinds. This community of labour was a necessity on account of the ruggedness of the soil, and the cumbrous nature of the implements. The plough, a timber appliance, was most unwieldy. Drawn by eight oxen, not less than four, even five and six persons were employed in conducting it. Two or more led the oxen, one or more held the stilts, and one cleared the mould-board. And by one of the husbandmen, specially skilful, was regulated the breadth of the furrow by means of a long pole attached to the plough by an iron hook.

Through the joint mode of culture originated the system of *runfield*, or *runrig*, styled rundale in England. An ordinary ploughgate, which in length extended to forty rods or 220 yards, was separated into strips or ridges, each four rods or twenty-two yards in breadth. In 1695, when different strips in the same field were frequently possessed by different owners, the runrig system was abrogated by statute. But runrig continued, where no legal difficulties intervened, and it is stated in the "Survey of Ayrshire," that the practice prevailed in that county till the middle of the eighteenth century.

Other practices associated with early husbandry became latterly a source of inconvenience. Ridges were formed in curves, while between each arable ridge was left a strip or balk,[1] on which were thrown the stones, roots, and other impediments turned up by the ploughshare. When husbandry had made some progress, balks were with much labour rendered arable. But curved ridges (so constructed with a view of distributing the surface water) continued long afterwards, and the levelling of these was attended with difficulty.

In Perthshire the pastoral portions of a farm were, in the sixteenth century, of two kinds, *door-land* and *shepherd-land.* Door land was a term applied to unenclosed meadows near the homestead, including the faces of braes and small fields. On these cattle were teddered, and horses put out to bait. Shepherd land denoted meadow ground and muirland of every sort—or land not intended for regular or occasional tillage.

Cattle fed on northern hills were attenuated and feeble. During winter they were fed on straw and

[1] A facetious correspondent of Sir Patrick Waus, laird of Barnbarroch, writing to him about the year 1596, begins by acknowledging his letter, asking him "nocht to mak balkis in his beir land, but to visite him at his house," meaning that he should not leave his friendship, like a ridge of land, to remain uncultivated. "Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus of Barnbarroch," 1540, 1597, by Robert Vans Agnew. Edinb., 1882, p. 544.

meadow hay. Before being in spring set loose into the meadows, they were subjected to bleeding, from a belief that thereby they would readily acquire flesh. The bleeding process proved so exhausting in the first instance that the tenantry of a district were in the habit of clubbing together to raise up each other's cattle. The blood drawn from the animals was boiled and, mixed with dough, converted into cakes and eaten with milk. Cattle in the earlier times were valued chiefly for their hides. The sheep of a district were pastured together on the hills ; each sheepowner distinguishing the members of his flock by a cut in the ear or by a hot iron brand upon the nose. Poultry allowed to stray widely in the fields during the day were at night gathered near the fireplace, under the belief that, if kept warm, they would produce a greater number of eggs.

The arable land of a farm was divided into *infield* and *outfield*. The former surrounded the homestead, and roughly enclosed, received the farm manure and was kept constantly in tillage. A mode of pulverizing the *infield* of hard and clayey soils was effected by a rotation, which included pease and beans. In the Register of the Regality of Menteith, it is set forth that, in 1664, pease were sown on a farm at Doune, "for the gooding of the ground."

On such portions of the outfield as were suited for cultivation were raised crops of oats, generally for

three consecutive years, when the soil becoming exhausted it was for a period, varying from three to seven years, allowed to remain waste. Then it was re-subjected to a three years' cropping. In 1750 infield land in Forfarshire was rented at from four to ten shillings an acre ; outfield land at not more than eighteenpence. After the union of the crowns, husbandry acquired a new start. The wealth of England, it was remarked, was derived chiefly from the soil, and it was held that an effort should be made to cultivate Scottish straths and reclaim the forests. Practically, little was accomplished, for the implements of husbandry continued to be rudely constructed, and the animals used in husbandry were imperfectly sustained. With the lapse of a century improvement came. Subsequent to the political union of 1707, arose with England a trade in cattle, attended with great advantage to husbandmen. Many gentlemen became cattle-dealers, including the Hon. Patrick Ogilvie, brother of the Earl of Seafield, Chancellor of Scotland. At the great cattle fair held at Crieff in 1723, no fewer than thirty thousand cattle, reared on northern pastures, were transferred to English drovers. And at the close of the century, about one hundred thousand head of cattle were, from all parts of Scotland, sent annually into England.

Rye-grass and red clover seeds brought into England from Flanders, were in 1720 first sown in Scottish

fields. About the year 1730, turnips were brought to Scotland from Norfolk. For several years they were raised only in gardens, and when, in 1739, they were introduced on the farm, the seed was sown broadcast. But as the root gained favour, its mode of culture became better understood. In 1756 turnips in drills were to be found in fields extending to fifty acres. Within other ten years the importance of the crop was universally recognised.

About the year 1690, potatoes were cultivated by one or two Scottish gardeners, and in 1701, they were raised largely in gardens at Dalkeith. When, in 1750, they were planted in the fields of Stirlingshire, a notion was entertained by the peasantry that farmers were seeking to substitute them for meal; hence they were generally rejected. But as farmers and even landlords did not disdain to partake of the root, its use by the common people advanced slowly. Before the eighteenth century had closed, potatoes were used in every home. About the year 1800, the system of planting broadcast was abandoned, and the drill method substituted.

A main and important benefit to lowland husbandry consequent on the introduction of potatoes, was a more universal attention to horticulture, of which the lack had been remarked by English tourists. The garden of the Scottish manor in the seventeenth and considerably onward in the

eighteenth century, consisted of an enclosure bordering the mansion, divided into sections by holly hedges, with straight grass-walks, and large patches of boxwood shaped into grotesque figures of men and animals. The flowers were of the simplest sort, consisting of thyme, southern-wood, the common rose, and tulips in considerable variety. Hot-beds were familiar, but according to Dr Somerville in his "Life and Times" green-houses and hot-houses were prior to 1760 unused. When potatoes were generally accepted as an important article of food, the landlord and the farmer and his hinds began to recognise the importance of cultivating garden-ground." And thereupon arose that love of flowers, which has at length resulted in every considerable hamlet having its annual flower-show. But the Hebridean and the Shetlander have yet to learn that gardening is both a profit and a solace.

Potatoes were sold in Forfarshire in 1794, at five shillings per boll. But as a source of profit the crop was not fully appreciated till about sixty years ago. In 1814 a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* quotes as serious objections to the culture of potatoes, "the manure which they require, and their great bulk and weight in proportion to their value." At Carrick, in Ayrshire, of which the soil is especially adapted for potato culture, we were lately conducted into a field of which the tenant had drawn £1000 for the crop of potatoes which it had yielded him.

Tobacco culture was in 1778 attempted in Roxburghshire, and at first successfully. But the crop was found subject to frost blights; its culture was at length prohibited by Parliamentary statute.

An ancient implement of tillage, the cascroim, is still made use of in Orkney and Shetland, also in the Hebrides. This implement consists of a shaft 6 feet long, fastened to a sole about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, which, shod with an iron blade, resembles a one-sided spade. By applying the foot to a pin projecting from the shaft, the iron-shod part is driven into the soil, the shaft acting as a lever in upturning the tilth.

In the reign of David I. was used a plough drawn by eight oxen. Its precise form is unknown, but it probably resembled the one stilted plough still used in the northern isles. Formed of a crooked piece of wood, the Shetland plough has attached a pliable piece of oak which is fastened to the yoke laid across the necks of the oxen, and the man who holds it walks by its side, guiding it with a stilt or handle. A driver precedes, dragging forward the oxen by a rope tied to their horns; several labourers follow with spades to level the furrow and break the clods.

If such was the Scottish plough in its primitive form, a more cumbrous implement supervened; this consisted of a long wooden beam, while the mould-board and two short stilts were also formed of timber, the sock and coulter only being of iron. Used in

clayey and difficult soils this implement was drawn by ten and even twelve oxen; in ploughing it produced a large triangular rut.

The swing-plough, now in use, was invented in 1763 by James Small of Dalkeith. Small's plough was fashioned of iron and could be drawn by two horses, but its possibilities were not readily recognised, for long after it had superseded the elder implement, farmers insisted on yoking it to oxen. In northern parts four oxen with one pair of horses were yoked together to Small's plough; its cost in 1794 was about £2. Oxen were in husbandry generally dispensed with about eighty years ago.

About 1847 steam-cultivation was introduced in Scotland by the Marquis of Tweeddale, and in 1855 the brothers William and Thomas Fisken perfected the steam-plough which bears their name. The brothers were natives of Perthshire. William Fisken who was Presbyterian Minister at Stamfordham, Northumberland, died in January 1884.

The harrows used a century ago made of wood, including the tines, were described by Lord Kames as "better adapted to raise laughter than to raise soil." Up to 1740 Hebridean crofters dragged harrows by their horses' docks, and by the tails of oxen. The barbarous practice was frequently condemned by the Privy Council.

From straw the grain was separated by a flail.

The mode of thrashing by machinery was discovered by three farmers about the same time; these were Andrew Good, Michael Menzies, and Michael Stirling. The machines of Good and Menzies were tried in 1735. Stirling's invention, made known thirteen years later, and perfected by Andrew Meikle, an ingenious engineer, came thereafter into general use. By substituting a horizontal for a perpendicular axis, Meikle so improved Stirling's machine as almost to justify his claim as an original constructor.

Till 1710 the only winnowing appliance was the wind as it blew between open barn-doors; but in that year fanners were brought to this country from Holland by James Meikle, engineer at Saltoun, father of the perfecter of the thrashing machine. The mechanism of fanners was in 1737 improved and perfected by Andrew Roger, farmer at Cavers.

Grain was in the earlier times pounded upon stones with oblong hollows, by means of stone grinders or rubbers. Knocking or beating stones, known as *clach chrotaidh,* are still used in the Hebrides. The knocking stone is a species of boulder, with a cup-like excavation, in which the grain, after being well dried, is struck by a wooden mallet; it is used in preparing pot barley.

The primitive rubber or beating stone had its successor in the quern or hand-mill. The quern consists of two circular flat stones, the upper pierced in the

centre with a narrow funnel so as to revolve on a wooden pin. In using the quern, the grinder dropped the grain into the funnel with one hand, and with the other made the upper stone revolve by means of a rude handle. Though usually formed of stone, the quern was also made of wood. An oak quern was found in Blair-Drummond moss.

The quern was used in every household. When St Columba studied under Finnian, he each evening bruised corn with a quern. At Iona he caused his disciples so to grind corn for their daily meals.

Into Britain water-mills were introduced by the Romans. Though afterwards used by the Saxons, they were unknown in Scotland prior to the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century they were not uncommon. In 1284 it was enacted that "na man sall presume to grind quheat, marshlock, or rye, with hands' mylne, except he be compelled be storm, or be lack of mills, quhilk sould grind the samen." The statute proceeds, "gif a man grinde at hand mylnes, he sall gif the threttein measure as multer; and gif any man contravenis this our prohibition, he sall tine his hand mylnes perpetuallie." But the quern was continued among the peasantry, and its use has lingered in the isles up to our own times. When Captain Burt wrote in 1740, querns were in the uplands to be found everywhere. They are still numerous in Shetland, and common in Orkney and the Hebrides,

also in the west coast parishes of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness. In Shetland a quern may be procured for less than five shillings. In the crofters' dwellings it rests upon a timber tray, of which one end is built into the wall, the other being by uprights supported on the floor. In Shetland the quern is placed in the living or day-room; in the Lewis it stands in the porch. In the Hebrides obtains a mode of dressing corn called *graddan*. Sitting down, a woman takes a handful of corn, and holding it by the stalks in her left hand, sets fire to the ears. With a stick which she holds in her right hand, she beats off the grain at the instant the husk is burnt. Applied to the quern, the grain may be in a ready state for baking into bread within an hour after it has been cut down.

When a corn mill was erected on an estate, the tenants were required to send their grain to that mill only. This was variously called thirlage, or doing debt to a mill, or the service of the sucken.

On a portion of the lands of Cupar abbey, the miller in 1447, received as multure "the ane and twenty corne." This signified the twenty-first sheaf, or nearly five per cent. of the produce. Mill tenants at Cupar were required to provide their own mill-stones. But this rule did not obtain generally. The tenants of a barony usually became bound both to repair the mill-stank or pond and drag the mill-

stones. Each mill-stone was wheeled from the quarry upon its edge, so that the surface might be uninjured. Grain before being carried to the mill, was by every farmer dried in his own kiln. But the system of thirlage to mills became irksome and a source of disputation; it has long been discontinued.

A mechanical contrivance for removing moss from waste lands was invented by George Meikle, son of the improver of the thrashing machine. This was in 1787 erected on the great moss at Blair-Drummond; it served by means of a Persian wheel to raise the water of the Teith into the moss, which was in portions floated into the Forth, and thence carried to the ocean.

The reaping machine was invented in 1826, by Dr Patrick Bell, latterly minister of Carmyllie. In 1867 he received the testimonial of a thousand pounds. Dr Bell died in April 1869.

By Ossian are applied to horses such epithets as "dark-maned," "high-headed," "broad-breasted," "bounding," and "strong-hoofed." During the reign of Alexander II., horses were reared for sporting purposes. When Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, was about to proceed to Palestine in 1247, he sold to the monks of Melrose, for one hundred merks, his stud of brood mares. Alexander III. was killed in 1286 by falling from his horse in hunting. Heralds mounted on horseback conveyed royal messages.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century, goods were transported from place to place by pack horses, in gangs of thirty and forty. As the roads were narrow, the leading horse carried a bell to warn those approaching from an opposite direction. Both the squire and his tenants rode to church on horseback. The farmer's wife sat behind her husband resting on a pad. In 1760, twelve pack horses carried goods weekly between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Formerly horses were poorly fed, their provender consisting of bog-hay, pease-straw and boiled chaff, also thistles which were purchased at threepence per burden. A horse which in 1283 was valued at £1 Scots, sold in 1580 for £10; and at £25 a century later. According to the minister of Tongland, saddles and bridles were, in the year 1730, unknown. In the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright farmers rode "to kirk and market" upon pillions made of hair. Only the fore feet of their horses were shod. The bridles, reins, and farm ropes of the last century were ordinarily made of rushes or twisted roots of the fir-tree.

Chariots were used by the Caledonians at the battle of the Grampians; they are represented on the sculptured stones. Subsequently vehicles were few. Wains were dragged without wheels. A wheeled cart imported from Flanders was, in the twelfth century, used in transporting skins and fleeces to Berwick for shipment.

Agricultural carts had no wheels till about the year 1770, when, owing to a general improvement of the roads, these became common. In the tale of "The Piper of Peebles," published in 1793, William Anderson, a native of Kingoldrum, Forfarshire, refers to the time, then recent,

> "Whan coops and carts were unco rare,
> An' creels, and currocks, boot to sair;
> Whan knockit bear made Sunday kail,
> An' fouk in pots brew'd braithel[1] ale."

In his "Survey of Ayrshire," Colonel Fullarton describing the state of that county in 1750, remarks that carts and waggons being unknown, manure was drawn to the fields on cars or sledges, or on what was called tumbler-wheels, since they turned with the axle-tree. These latter, the Colonel adds, "were anciently made of oak, rudely fashioned, of three feet in diameter, and wholly unprotected by iron." Writing in 1793 in the "Statistical Account," the minister of Tongland informs us, that sixty years previously there was not a cart in his parish, corn and hay being led home in cars, and in trusses on horseback. Peats and manure were carried on women's backs in creels of wickerwork.

Road-making was introduced by the Romans, but their mode of constructing causeways was by the Britons imperfectly apprehended. A great thorough-

[1] Bridal.

fare, of Roman construction, leading from London to Edinburgh and Perth, and thence to Inverness, is, in a charter of 1376, referred to as *Via Scoticana*.[1] During the seventeenth century the country was for grazing purposes intersected with green roads, on which sheep and cattle might feed and rest. Between the principal towns the roads were uneven; in winter they were nearly impassable. Across the Tay, at Perth, a bridge existed so early as the reign of William the Lion; it suffered much by an inundation in 1210, and in December 1573 two of the arches fell. Bridges generally, whether of stone or timber, were narrow and insecure. Rivers were crossed at fords, where the ordinary assistants were women. By an easy adjustment of their garments, they waded across the streams, bearing the men upon their shoulders. In reference to this practice James VI. rejoiced to inform his English courtiers, that he had in his native kingdom a town of five hundred bridges. The king facetiously alluded to the small town of Auchterarder, on the Earn, of which all the females were ford-women.

Early in the eighteenth century, the imperfect condition of the roads awakened general attention, and led to a movement for their repair. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1719, the able-bodied males of every district were enjoined to render a week's

[1] Innes' "Scotland in the Middle Ages," p. 146.

labour for the improvement of the district roads, —hence the name of *statute-labour* roads. Subsequently personal labour was commuted into annual cess. In 1720 road-surveyors were appointed, and bridge-erecting became general. It was not, however, till 1726 when, on the authority of Government, General Wade commenced the construction of the great Highland roads, that the country was completely opened up. Of Wade's roads, the most important was that conducting from Dunkeld to Inverness. Of two others of his great roads, one led from Stirling by Crieff and Glenalmond, joining the great road at Dalnacardoch ; the other, in the line now marked by the Caledonian Canal, traversed the island. The Turnpike Act of 1750 induced the vigorous completion of operations efficiently initiated. Scottish roads were at length made firm and compact through the genius of Macadam.

So long as the roads were at times impassable, family carriages were rare. Queen Mary of Guise had, in July 1538,[1] her chariot repaired at St Andrews. In 1580 the family coach in its present form first appeared in Britain, one so constructed was, in 1598, conspicuous in the suite of the English Ambassador. To Edinburgh, in 1610, Henry Anderson imported carriages from Pomerania. He had conferred upon him the exclusive privilege for fifteen years of keep-

[1] Treasurer's Accounts.

ing coaches to run between Edinburgh and Leith. So rapidly had the use of family vehicles increased that, in 1700, the king's commissioner to Edinburgh was met eight miles from the city by forty coaches, each drawn by four or six horses. In 1738 a coach-work was estabilised at Edinburgh. The first family coach seen at Inverness was that of General Wade, when he commenced his road-making. The country people were so impressed by the spectacle that they reverently uncovered to the driver. Coaches drawn by six horses were usually managed by a coachman and three attendants. The coachman wielded the reins, while a second driver rode on one of the foremost horses, the two other attendants, who usually stood on the back of the carriage, dismounted from time to time to remove the vehicle from a rut, and restore the equilibrium.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century stage coaches were rare. In 1750 a stage coach was run weekly between Edinburgh and London. Letters which it brought by it to Edinburgh from London were delivered on the evening of the fifth day. Formerly a mounted postman bore the letters between the two capitals in a portmanteau attached to his saddle. Referring to a period forty or fifty years later, Mr Philip Ainslie, in his "Reminiscences," writes thus :—

"Public conveyances consisted of hackney coaches

and sedan chairs within the town, in addition to which there were what were termed flys and stage-coaches; there were also the London mail and the 'Royal Charlotte,' both drawn by four horses, and considered to make their journeys in a wonderfully expeditious manner. The former took the road through Berwick and York, carrying four inside and one outside passenger, charging for the ticket £7, 15s., and accomplishing the journey in three days and two nights. The 'Royal Charlotte' followed the route by Coldstream, Cornhill, and Newcastle, and performed the journey in much the same time, but at a less charge. The public conveyances to the near neighbourhood of Edinburgh were heavy lumbering stage-coaches, drawn by two horses, and carrying six passengers inside, but with no accommodation for outsiders either on the roof or beside the driver. The rate of travelling by these vehicles was about three miles and a half an hour, and they went between Musselburgh and Edinburgh four times in the day. There were also coaches to Leith. The journey to Glasgow was accomplished in a post-chase, with a pair of horses, and carrying three passengers, leaving Edinburgh in the morning and reaching the Kirk of Shotts in the evening; there the passengers slept, proceeding on their journey the following morning, and reaching Glasgow in the course of the afternoon.[1]

[1] "Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman," London, 1861, pp. 148-9.

In 1789 the "Fly" coach was started from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, the fare being two guineas. Three days were occupied in the journey. In 1818 a stage-coach drawn by four horses, began to ply weekly between Aberdeen and Inverness.

In connection with the soil, the eighteenth century opened under a system which to landlords and occupants was alike unsatisfactory and injurious. In many districts, and universally in the West Highlands, the lands were leased to tacksmen who, not personally engaging in land-culture, established upon their holdings a body of sub-tenants, without continuity of tenure, and whose domestic condition was allowed to resemble that of the earlier serfs. The degraded state of the land-cultivators on his vast estate attracted the attention of the Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, who sought and obtained the counsel of the celebrated Duncan Forbes of Culloden. Not less remarkable for his agricultural skill than for his high judicial qualities, Forbes agreed to manage the Duke's estate during his absence in Spain; he also did so subsequently. As administrator of the lands, he broke up a system which impoverished the actual tenants, and morally and physically degraded them. In his earlier efforts, he had to contend with the prejudices and prepossessions of the people themselves, many of whom preferred to drag on in the track of their progenitors. But at length a

complete change was effected, the land being let to the actual cultivators, on leases direct from the proprietor, and which were made to subsist for a term of years. In these leases were substituted for personal services, and other troublesome exactions, a stated rent in money. Except in the Hebrides and the northern isles, where up to the present time the cause of husbandry has languished, Forbes's management of the Argyle estates was widely imitated, and middle-men finally dispensed with.

On the 9th November 1723, a "Society for improving in the knowledge of Agriculture" was formed at Edinburgh, with a membership of three hundred persons, chiefly landowners. Under its auspices was established at Cliftonhill a model farm, which resulted in converting a place of marshes into a fertile and beautiful demesne. In landscape culture Mr Hope of Rankeillor took a prominent part; he drained the meadows south of Edinburgh, changing an insalubrious morass into a graceful and healthy suburb. But prominent members of the society cherished wayward fancies. A section insisted on the special importance of linen-bleaching, other members expatiated on the importance of checking the introduction of foreign spirits; others held that certain woollen manufactories should be patronized to the exclusion of others. A volume of "Proceedings" was issued in 1743, when also the society ceased.

Undigested speculation had received a final quietus in the famine of 1740. A late winter was accompanied with a terrible frost, which binding loch and river, also restrained the husbandman. The frost continued to the end of April, no seed being sown till May. Rough and sunless weather prevailed during summer, resulting in a stunted and almost useless crop. For rent there was no provision, while the fodder was barely sufficient to sustain the cattle. On account of this terrible visitation the progenitors of Robert Burns, who had held a respectable rank as Kincardineshire yeomen were reduced to poverty, and the poet's father was compelled to migrate southward in quest of work. Other northern farmers shared in the common ruin. Many landlords, too, were impoverished, especially those who forty years before had suffered from the collapse of the African Company.

The scarcity of 1740 was followed four years later by an event which menaced more formidable mischief. But the rebellion of 1745 proved otherwise, for the extensive forfeiture of lands held by those who for generations had used the sword in preference to the plough, became an important feature in agricultural progress.

In 1773 the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates entered on a system of agricultural enquiry. They selected as their agent Andrew Wight, farmer, at

Ormiston, who, to great agricultural skill, added vast powers of observation. In a series of surveys, extending over a period of ten years, and the results of which he published in four octavo volumes, he laid open the real condition of the country. In his Preface, he wrote thus :—"Fifty years ago a survey of this kind would have been of no avail, because one practice cramped by custom, was the same everywhere, and there was nothing to be learned. Fifty years hence the knowledge and practice of husbandry will probably be spread everywhere, and nothing will remain to be learned." Mr Wight found that farmers generally were wedded to the miserable husbandry of former times. On the other hand he found some strongly inclined to reformation. The more intelligent improvers he discovered among the landowners; of these he honourably names Henry Home, Lord Kames. Succeeding in 1746 to the estate of Blair Drummond, his lordship warmly interested himself in the cause of husbandry. For existing evils his remedy was twofold. He conceived that the condition of the husbandman and of his hinds would be materially improved if the garden of the homestead were better cultivated, and vegetables largely reared. But his grand panacea was tree planting. Personally he did not plant much, for the moss upon his lands repelled vegetation. But others planted on his counsel, and vast districts of

moorland were studded with trees. The mania, for such it was, continued till the century closed.

Intensely whimsical, Lord Kames clung to many parts of the old system, and was to be commended mainly for stimulating inquiry. In his wake arose Sir John Sinclair, Bart., whose claim to national gratitude cannot be over-estimated. The estate of Ulbster, in Caithness, to which he succeeded in his eighteenth year, extended to 100,000 acres, and was peopled by the families of 900 crofters. Of these, the women acted as pack-horses, carrying on their backs for long distances baskets of peat, grain, and manure. Improving roads and building bridges, Sir John transferred loads and burdens to carts and waggons. Mud huts he swept away, substituting cottages of stone and lime, each containing three and four apartments. For peat as the universal fuel, he substituted coal and logs. To the locality inviting ingenious mechanics he secured the best implements. He obtained superior seed, instructed in the use of lime and manure, and taught a suitable rotation. To the estate he brought improved breeds of cattle, and introduced the fine woolled sheep of South Wales and the Cheviots.

The Ulbster crofters lacked both capital and enterprise. Those thoroughly incapable Sir John relieved of their holdings, with a due provision for their support, while he invested small farms in the hands of

those willing and able to adopt his system. He subsequently established the Board of Agriculture, and had surveys prepared and printed of every Scottish county. He induced the parochial clergy to contribute an account of their several parishes, which, under his editorship, appeared in twenty-one volumes. By establishing a society for the improvement of wool, he effected general reform in sheep farming, and, inducing the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates to make loans for reclaiming waste lands, he converted vast swamps into regions of fertility.

What Sir John Sinclair commenced in 1772 led in 1784 to the formation of the Highland and Agricultural Society, which three years later was incorporated by Royal Charter. By receiving from Government out of the monies realised from the forfeited estates a benefaction of £3000, and an annuity of £800 from the public exchequer, the Society was enabled to conduct operations on a liberal scale. Offering premiums for improved agricultural implements, and in all departments of husbandry, they excited a wide and general interest. To the father of the present writer, James Roger, afterwards minister of Dunino, the Society awarded in 1796 their gold medal for an essay on the best means of improving the Highlands. In association with George Dempster, of Dunnichen, who on his retirement from political life became a zealous agriculturist, Mr Roger prepared a general

"View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus or Forfar" which was included in the eight volumes of County Reports, issued under the authority of the Board of Agriculture; he also conjointly with Mr Dempster originated the Lunan and Vinney Water Farming Society, one of the earliest of those district associations which eminently advanced the cause of husbandry.

Within twenty years after its institution, the Highland and Agricultural Society remarked that outfield lands had ceased, since every portion of the farm received its due share of attention and culture. Clay soils, under the application of lime and manure, became friable. Marl, which in England had upon light soils been used profitably, was, after a trial, found upon northern fields to be worse than useless. Bestial, which in summer had been wretchedly sustained by *souming* and *rouming*, that is by outfield pasturing in summer and foddering in winter on the coarse bent of the meadow, were now grazed on fields of artificial grass, and in winter fattened in covered sheds on hay and turnips. The best arable land in Ayrshire which in 1750 was leased at two and three shillings an acre, had before the century closed increased in value eight and ten fold.

The average prices of farm produce at different epochs may be denoted. The cost of grain during

the reign of Alexander III. (1249-1296) is thus set forth by Wyntoun :—

> " A boll of atys pennys foure
> Of Scottys moné past noucht oure ;
> A boll of bere for awcht or ten
> In comowne prys sawld wes then,
> For saxtene a boll off qwhete
> Or for twenty, the derth wes grete."

In 1329 barley brought 2s. 5d. per boll, oats 11d. In 1424 the prices of wheat, barley, and oats were severally 2s., 1s. 4d., and 6d. per boll. Towards the close of the sixteenth century a boll of oats with the straw sold in Perthshire for 11s., while at the same time a boll of meal, also of bear, was valued at £3. In 1656 oats with fodder sold at £3 per boll. According to Roger's "View" oats sold per boll in 1794 at 12s. sterling, wheat about 20s.

The rental of the entire lands in Scotland in 1664 was £319,000 scots ; it had in 1748 increased to £822,857 sterling, and in 1813 to £6,285,389. Now the rental is slightly under twenty millions. It is not unimportant to add that only 11·05 per cent. of the population contribute to the national taxes.

CHAPTER VII.

RURAL LIFE AND MANNERS.

The condition of the Scottish peasantry had undergone only perceptible amelioration from the commencement of the fourteenth to the early part of the eighteenth century. Writing in 1661, Dr John Ray, the naturalist, who then visited Scotland, remarks: "The ordinary country houses are pitiful cots, built of stone, and covered with turves, having in them but one room, many of them no chimneys, the windows very small, broke, and not glazed." The "cou'dna be fash'd" system so admirably portrayed by Mrs Elizabeth Hamilton in the "Cottagers of Glenburnie" was no overstrained picture of rural life up to the period of the last rebellion. When, as Mrs Hamilton depicts, a village bridge was only half repaired and yet insecure, the remark "it'll do weel eneuch," settled all questions as to its stability. Describing the state of Ayrshire husbandry in 1750, Colonel Fullarton remarks that "the farm-houses were hovels, moated with clay, having an open hearth or fire-place in the middle and a dunghill at the door." When

William Burnes, crofter at Alloway, resolved in the autumn of 1757 to enter into matrimony, he with his own hands reared his future dwelling. Composed of mud walls, it was covered with straw. About the 5th of February 1759, some ten days after his first-born appeared on the scene, a violent gale threw down one of the gables, to the great peril of the mother and of her son. That son was the poet, Robert Burns.

An improved style of farm-dwelling proceeded about the close of the century. Farm-houses were now erected in stone, each containing from three to six apartments. But the door still opened into the farm-yard, as did nearly all the windows. This arrangement was intended to secure a constant surveillance of the hinds and maidens, also to discover the condition of the calves, pigs, and domestic fowl, which severally disported within a central enclosure named the reed. At the farm-house door a stone seat cushioned with turf, and projecting from the wall, formed the summer afternoon resting-place of the gudewife as she knitted her stocking and superintended her maidens. This seat was called the *dais;* it had its counterpart in the *loupin-on-stane*, a small erection of masonry for accommodating the gudewife in mounting and dismounting from her horse, on which she sat behind her husband as she accompanied him to kirk and market.

The farm-house was the headquarters of those who worked upon the farm, for though the hinds at night were lodged elsewhere, it was to all, including the married labourers, who occupied huts, a place of daily resort.

Breakfast was simply gone about. The farmer, with his wife and children, breakfasted on porridge. In porridge-making, water was boiled in a sauce-pan, into which oatmeal with salt was poured slowly, and constantly stirred with a wooden spurtle or *theedle.* The meal so prepared was supped with a horn spoon, each spoonful being dipped in a bowl of milk. The farm-labourer cooked his breakfast in simple fashion. He used brose. This dish was prepared by the straining of several handfuls of oatmeal in a small cog of hot water, which by continuous stirring attained a firm consistency. Like porridge, it was supped along with unskimmed milk.

Dinner for the entire household was served in the ha' or kitchen. At noon the gudewife, with her maidens, proceeded in the centre of the well-swept earthen floor to erect the timber or iron trestles and thereon to extend the *tafil* or dinner-boards. In the better class farm-houses the upper part of the dinner-boards was covered with a linen cloth. More frequently the upper part of the table, at which sat the farmer and family, was separated from the lower part by a chalk-line. Occasionally the distinction was

indicated by the position of the salt-dish ; those who sat above it were of the farmer's kin, those beneath it were his hirelings.

When all were seated—the farmer and his wife and children and other relatives in the place of honour, and the hinds—each ranking according to seniority or length of service—they uncovered and bowed their heads for "grace," or blessing. This was expressed in few and simple words, except by office-bearers of the Secession Church, who prolonged their utterances. Grace said, all the males resumed their bonnets, which, summer and winter, they retained in eating. Before taking his seat the farmer washed his hands, but the hinds were expected to eat without attempting an ablution.

Broth was usually the first dish. From a large family broth-pot, in form resembling the Roman camp-kettle, the liquor was transferred to a boyne or wooden tub, and from thence conveyed in timber cogs to those who dined. The cog was afterwards laid aside unwashed, since the application of water was supposed to rend and ruin it; but each member of the household kept his own cog and spoon and bicker, which were severally inscribed with his selected mark, or with the initials of his name. In Hebridean crofts were used for bearing broth or milk to those who dined in the field the *craggan*, a narrow-necked earthen vessel, manufactured by women.

The broth of the farm-ha' had as a constituent a kind of pot barley, neither milled nor scaled, but bruised or beaten on the knocking-stone. Pot barley was knocked by the younger maid-servant, who also winnowed the product in a *wecht* or sieve.

Another constituent of farm-broth was the great nettle, *urtica dioica,* which grew luxuriantly in ditches and waste nooks. During the eighteenth century, and even earlier, the great nettle was in many districts, as a broth-vegetable, displaced by kale or colewort. Subsequently were added the carrot, onion, and turnip cut into small portions. Long after nettle-broth had ceased to be in general use, Stewart of Invernahyle, the contemporary and friend of Sir Walter Scott, partook of it at dinner on three successive days each spring, under the belief that thereby he would, for the remainder of the year, profit by its diuretic virtues.[1]

In every pot of broth was boiled a joint of beef or mutton or of fresh pork. After the broth had been served the meat was supplied in portions by the *gudewife,* each of these being thrust into the cogs as severally they were passed round. When colewort was in use, the joint was served along with its stems, or castocks, but more commonly with bannocks baked that morning on the hearth.

[1] "Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. Alexander Stewart. Edin., 1883, 8vo, pp. 235, 349.

Farm-house bread varied in quality. During the sixteenth century bread was of four sorts—the first was *manchet,* the second *trencher,* the third *ravelled,* the fourth *mashloch.* Ravelled bread was of bruised grain as it came from the mill, including both flour and bran. The mashloch was of sifted flour conjoined with rye. According to Dr Somerville, the bannocks of the farm-house in 1760 were composed of oatmeal, also of a mixture of pease-meal and barley-flour.[1]

At the farm-kitchen dinner butcher meat was presented four times a week. On other or *meagre* days, dinner was commenced with a cog of sowens, derived from the liquor of bruised oats. Next followed cheese and hard-boiled eggs, also oaten cakes and butter. The cheese, usually prepared from skimmed milk, was imperfectly nutritious. In Strathmore and elsewhere near the banks of rivers salmon was by a portion of the tenantry substituted at dinner for broth and butcher meat. But hinds at hiring made a stipulation that they would not be required to eat salmon or fresh-water trout oftener than thrice a week.

On Sunday the farmer and his wife and children dined apart from the hinds in the *spence* or *ben house.* This apartment, with its uncarpeted wooden floor,

[1] Dr Thomas Somerville's "Life and Times," 1714-1814. Edin. 1861, 8vo, *passim.*

always contained a box-bed with sliding doors, also a sort of fire-grate, on which might be burned turf and peat or wood and coal. When on Sundays the gudeman preferred a hot instead of the usual "cold Sabbath denner," he was privileged with a dish of sheep's head and trotters. The preparation of this dish is thus humorously described in the vernacular: "It needs little watchin', and disna gang wrang wi' owre lang boilin'. Cleek it on an' get it fair through the boil, then cleek it up so as it'll no boil ower an' pit oot the fire, an' ye may lock the door an' gang a' to the kirk, an' come oot when you like. It disna matter for an hour or twa, either; 'deed it's a' the better o' plenty o' the fire, especially if ye hae a handfu' o' the blue pat-pea in't an' plenty barley. Then what's like the broth on a cauld day."[1]

There were a few other occasions on which the farmer and his wife abandoned at dinner the society of their hinds. A notable occasion was that on which they gave to the neighbours *the spare-rib dinner* after the slaughter of the mart. Another was that of the minister's pastoral visit. Dinner at these times was served in the *spence*. As each guest arrived the gudewife proceeded to wipe with a linen towel the chair which he was expected to occupy.

Cooking preparations had been commenced at early morn. The principal joint was broiled, but the roast-

[1] "Bits from Blinkbonny." Edin., 1882; p. 186.

ing jack was prior to 1750 unknown in the farm-house. A spit was used, to which was attached a wooden wheel, which was turned by a dog or one of the younger servants. The guest-dining hour at the farm-house varied at different periods. In 1514 every husbandman gave his dinner entertainments so early as ten o'clock. During the eighteenth century, the farmer entertained his friends at the hour of one. Profusion was the prevailing characteristic. There were stacks of bread and heaps of vegetables. Along with the principal dish were piles of chickens, sir-loins of mutton, loads of pork, and a prodigious haggis. Wooden cogs were dispensed with, the eating plates being of pewter or earthenware. The substantial part of the entertainment was placed on the table at once, when the maidens who brought it in stood back and smiled. Of waiting in the modern sense they were wholly ignorant, nor could the mistress offer a suggestion.

When the guests were seated, the mistress took her place at her husband's right hand; she stood there, for she was not yet expected to occupy her seat. From her point of eminence she could better guide her husband and direct her maidens. At her nod the latter carried off used or empty dishes, and brought in fresh relays of hot potatoes or other steaming vegetables. When potatoes were first introduced they were presented in the skins, which

each removed by his fingers. If the gudeman omitted to specially attend to some honoured guest, his wife reminded him by a nudge. Some gudewives sought to entertain their guests by dry jests or humorous references. Every farm housewife in Forfarshire, as the first course was being served, exhorted her guests to "stick weel to the skink, and no trust to the castocks"—that is, to indulge copiously in broth and not to expect too much from the after-part of the entertainment. Pressing to eat was the universal rule, and the gudewife was expected to direct her speeches in the way of urgence so long as the meal continued. Roast beef and boiled fowl were recommended by turns. The haggis, as prepared by her own hands, the gudewife specially urged upon the company. Some phrases of urgence would strike strangely upon modern ears, such as "I say, minister, what ails ye at the swine that ye're no' tastin' the pork;" "Dominie," addressing the parish schoolmaster, "dinna crack [talk] yersell out o' yer denner, my man; pree the guse, and dab it weel wi' mustard." "Macgersicawber and Glentulichan," naming two farmers by their farms, "ye maun tak' a spaul [leg] o' the chuckie [fowl] or a weng o' the jeukie [duck], or a big scklice o' the bublie-jock [turkey]. Tak a bit o' the mert [mart], Saunders Tamson; o'd, man, it was felled be Jock, yer gudebrither." Amidst such speeches, rough or simple, but each received in the

good humour in which it was expressed, did the guests in the farm-spence continue their repast.

When the meat viands were removed, which was done by huddling them together in a large wicker-basket, the gudewife took her seat opposite her husband and proceeded to serve cheese and pudding. Thereafter she tarried a little to sanction the "grace-drink." For there was a tradition that the good Queen Margaret had ruled that when grace was invoked after eating, strong liquor might be drunk subsequently. From its usual resting-place in the oak cabinet or upon the mahogany chest of drawers which stood in the apartment, the china punch-bowl was transferred to the dining-table and there placed in front of the gudeman. Charged with half a gallon of gin or brandy, for whisky was deemed unworthy of those who assembled at a farm-feast, the other contents were added according to the experienced taste of the elder guests. When the family toasts were disposed of, the gudewife joined her maidens in the kitchen. Amidst frequent renewals of the punch-bowl there were songs and sentiments, and perhaps some tunes upon the violin or flageolet. The snuff-mull was constantly passed round, each guest leaving on the floor or on the table, also upon his knees and on the folds of his dress, evidence of his indulgence in a habit at once absurd, pernicious and wasteful.

The gudewife now returned to her guests, placing before them some substantial refreshment to negative the effect of excessive drinking. Those who attended a spare-rib dinner generally departed about nine o'clock, but rarely quite sober. Yet excess was not universal. To some it was altogether obnoxious. The writer's paternal ancestors were small land-owners and tenant-farmers in the counties of Forfar and Perth, and with a pardonable satisfaction he ventures to record that they were, from one generation to another, noted for their abstinence. The writer's grandfather, Peter Roger, who a century ago rented the lands of Laws in Forfarshire, was by his neighbours known as "Water Laws," a sobriquet which, as indicating his perfect sobriety, is at once a credit to his memory, and the legacy of an example to his race.

In the farmer's kitchen supper was served at seven o'clock. There were ordinarily two courses—first, kale-brose, then oat cakes and milk. Kale-brose consisted of colewort cut into portions and boiled in a saucepan along with oatmeal and salt; or a handful of oatmeal was thrown into a large vessel, and the boiling liquor of the colewort cast over it and mixed. During harvest, reapers and hinds had for supper a species of food in which turnips and barley flour were boiled to a consistence; mustard was added in eating. When potatoes became common, these were

substituted as the evening meal. Potatoes boiled in their skins were toppled from the saucepan on the tafil, or dinner boards, when all, some standing and others seated, extended their fingers to the heap. The practice existed in the writer's youth, and the juvenile elevation which he experienced in occasionally sharing this kitchen cheer, he at the lapse of half a century gratefully recalls.

The farmer, who ordinarily took supper apart from his servants, enjoyed at this meal some little delicacy carefully prepared by the gudewife. Those who farmed near the seaboard were regaled with shell-fish—crab, mussel, and whilks ; those near the banks of rivers had pike, perch, and salmon trout, while dwellers near the muir and coney-warren were privileged with stewed rabbit and hare-soup. When a stranger was expected at supper a boiled pullet or roasted duck was added to the evening fare. When strangers were not present, spirituous liquor was used sparingly. The usual beverage of the farm-house was skimmed milk, or milk unskimmed and mixed with water.

Beside the bullock killed at Martinmas, and consequently called *the mart*, crock ewes, or those which had ceased to produce lambs, were killed at intervals. The flesh of sheep which died of any ordinary ailment was, as "braxy," preserved for food. At Christmas hogs were slaughtered ; these,

cut in pieces, were salted, and then smoked in the kitchen chimney.

Dovecots were anciently built on small holdings, but in 1617 a statute was passed restricting the privilege of possessing them to those who owned lands which might produce twelve chalders of victual. By an Act passed in 1567, owners of dovecots were protected, inasmuch as the destruction of a pigeon was made punishable with forty days' imprisonment, and for the second offence with deprivation of the right hand.

Prior to the eighteenth century, persons employed on a farm were clothed by its produce. The products required were flax, wool, and leather. Flax seeds, procured from Holland, or Riga, or Philadelphia, were sown on light soil—the richest crops being yielded on haughs or river banks. On every farm flax was sown, and in addition to that required by the family, each maid-servant was allowed a portion for her personal attire. When the raw material was by village artizans sufficiently prepared, then commenced the work of spinning. At the spinning-wheel females of all ranks occupied themselves busily. In the farm-house the gudewife and her daughters span with their domestics. The sheets used in every farm-house were fabricated by the women of the family.

From the sheep pastured on his "shepherd-land"

or grazing acres, did the husbandman derive woollen clothing for himself, his children, and his hinds. Shetland crofters roughly tore the wool from their sheep's backs, the wool so obtained being converted into *wad* or *wadmail*, a coarse fabric which islanders wore.

In the mainland, sheep-shears were in use from the earliest times. The annual sheep-shearing, an occasion of local interest, was attended with festivities. As a result, material for warm garments was procured for all who worked upon the farm. The wool was originally spun in the farm-house, but in the seventeenth century it was entrusted to the litster, whose vocation was to cleanse and prepare it for household use. When the web of woollen stuffs was returned by the litster, the tailor was summoned, who continued to work upon the premises till the entire fabric had been converted into garments. A century ago the tailor's daily pay was tenpence, but he was allowed to supply thread, on which he derived a small profit.

Husbandmen wore two vests, of which the under or surcoat, made of plaiding, was buttoned closely upon the breast. To the waistcoat were attached skirts, which falling upon the thighs were made secure to the loins by a belt of buff leather. The coat, a capacious vestment, was made of a mixture of black and white wool, and had upon it large buttons

coarsely formed on woollen moulds and covered with cloth. Breeches of similar material were made to button under the knee, upon hose of grey plaiding. The usual necktie or overlay was a square tweeling, of coarse yarn, which after twice enclosing the neck was buttoned to one of the vests. The bonnet or cap, also of wool, was of different colours, generally blue or russet. Husbandmen of the better class wore linen shirts; in pastoral districts the farmer's shirt was of coarse wool, and was changed not oftener than four times a year.

Animals' skins were converted into leather, by tanning either on the premises, or at the village tannery. A century ago the district shoemaker or *souter* was accommodated in the farm-house for a period of weeks, until he converted the leather reared upon it into boots, shoes, and leggings. A century ago crofters and their hinds wore brogues, fashioned of horse skin and undressed deer's hide, with the hair outwards, and which were tied to the ankles by leathern thongs. In the Orkney and Shetland Isles, also in the Hebrides, continue to be worn a kind of sandals, called *rivlins*. A piece of untanned cowhide is folded up the side of the foot, and closed and stitched with thongs at heel and toes. In frost or dry snow the rivlin is substituted by the smock, a kind of slipper made of cloth, and cross-sewn on the soles to prevent slipping.

Within the last eighty years the farmer's wife wore within doors a short-gown which rested loosely upon her shoulders, and fell upon a petticoat of harn or camlet, or linsey-woolsey. In walking abroad, she was clad in a coarse plaiding or drugget gown, made of coarse wool, and roughly spun. Her head was protected by a large linen cap, called a toy, which encroached on the face, and of which a large portion rested upon the shoulders. In undress the farmer's wife protected her head and face by a woollen toy, her ankles in woollen hoggens, and her feet by pattens or timber clogs, which she secured to her ankles by leathern overstraps. After marriage, every farmer's wife prepared her shroud, which she kept in her chest of drawers, and *aired* by spreading out of doors once a year. The wives of highland crofters occasionally made garments when guiding the plough-share.

Maid-servants of the farm wore linen mutches, with broad borders and large ties,—otherwise they were clad in the manner of their mistresses. At home and abroad, except when at church or market, they dispensed both with shoes and hoggens. One pair of shoes they received at the souter's annual visit. But the pair of shoes thus granted were known as "single soles," and in their evening hours the wearers were expected to double or treble their thickness. In 1562 a pair of shoes, single-soled,

cost 2s. 8d., of double-soled 3s. 8d. With this may be compared a bill rendered to the poet Burns, by John Weir, shoemaker at Mauchline, upwards of two centuries later :—

1788. June 13.	Pair shoes to	Robert Burns,	5s. 9d.
„ July 11.	„	Mrs Burns,	4s. 6d.
„ Sept.	Two pair,	. .	12s.

With the commencement of the nineteenth century vestiary customs underwent a change. At church or market the farmer and his wife now clothed tastefully; the former wore a blue or black coat with brass buttons, and his wife dispensed with her toy and pattens. Agricultural labourers and farm-hinds, formerly clad in hodden, now wore fustian or corduroy. Older costumes linger in the Hebrides.

When unmarried hinds ceased to obtain their meals in the farmer's kitchen a small barrack or *bothy* was constructed for their use. In the bothy the hinds sleep at night, and during day prepare their victuals. For breakfast and dinner they use brose with milk, and in the evening sup on milk and potatoes. The bothy system is not universal, and its usage, as denying to hinds the comforts of the social hearth, has been emphatically condemned. The domiciliary condition of the peasantry was anciently of the worst kind. During the reign of James I. a peasant's hut was built of turf, supported by a few rude posts, and roofed with boughs and sods.

An English gentleman travelling in Scotland in 1704 describes the farm-huts at Crawfordjohn as composed of earth or loose stones, with roofs of turf, and earthen floors. "The chimney," he adds, "is a hole in the roof, and the fireplace is in the middle of the floor." Robert Heron remarks that in 1745 the people of Rannoch, Perthshire, built huts of twigs, interwoven with stakes driven into the ground. "The doors," he remarks, "were so narrow that one could not enter otherwise than by creeping, and the roof of the hut was so low that the inmates could not stand upright."[1] The domestic condition of the peasantry of Kirkcudbrightshire about the same period is described by the minister of Tongland in these words:—"Their houses were the most miserable hovels, built of stone and turf, without mortar, and stopped with fog or straw to keep the wind from blowing in upon them. . . . In such houses, when they kindled a fire, they lived in a constant cloud of smoke, enough to suffocate them, had they not been habituated to it from infancy. They had many of them no standing beds, but slept on heath or straw, covered with the coarsest blankets, upon the floor. They kept their cattle in the same house with themselves, tied to stakes in one end of the house."

At a period not remote the peasantry of the

[1] "Journal through the Western Counties of Scotland," by Robert Heron, Perth, 1793, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. i. p. 219.

Hebrides found lodgment in the *bothan*. These hive-like structures, some isolated, others in couples, contain apartments nine feet long, six broad, and about six in height. When two *bothan* were together they were united by means of an orifice so small as to be got through only by creeping. *Bothan* have latterly been used chiefly as sheelings, or places of shelter for cattle herds. Some are found in groups.

Dr Samuel Johnson, writing in 1774, describes the huts of the Hebrides as "constructed with loose stones, ranged for the most part with some tendency to circularity." He adds:—"The wall, which is commonly about six feet high, declines from the perpendicular a little inward; such rafters as can be procured are then raised for a roof, and covered with heath, which makes a strong and warm thatch, kept from flying off by ropes of twisted heath, of which the ends, reaching from the centre of the thatch to the top of the wall, are held firm by the weight of a large stone. No light is admitted but at the entrance and through a hole in the thatch." What Dr Johnson found in the Hebrides might long subsequently have been remarked in the central counties. In lowland hamlets the doors of peasant's huts were approached by making a circuit of a dunghill or pestilential pool, which closely bordered the threshhold. Hut windows were glazed only in the upper

sills, and these were covered with cob-webs. Hamlets stood upon the edge of streams, into which accumulations of filth were periodically conducted.

The ameliorating influences which have operated in other departments of the social system have not extended to the better housing of the agricultural classes. In the census returns of 1871, a third of the rural population are described as living in one room, more than two-thirds in houses of one or two rooms, and four-fifths in dwellings of three rooms and under. Not long since in the counties of Roxburgh and Berwick nearly forty per cent. of the rural dwellings had only a single window, and till very lately in certain districts of Ayrshire a single apartment was deemed sufficient accommodation for families of eight and ten. Single roomed huts are most common in Dumfriesshire.

The condition of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands is now the subject of Parliamentary enquiry. Among the Commissioners' recommendations will, it is hoped, be included some suggestions as to the better housing of the people. Within the *black-house* of the Lewis, sheep and cattle are stowed together with the family. The space used by the household is approached through the cow-house, and actually belongs to it. The walls are of turf, with an outer and inner facing of dry stone-work. On the wall-tops sheep feed and children play. The undressed

rafters are bound together by straw ropes, a necessary precaution, for the thatch is removed annually for the sake of the soot, which is used as manure. The soot collected is abundant, for the *black-house* has no smoke-hole, all the occupants constantly inhaling the smoke of smouldering peat. The sole openings for admitting air or light are the constantly open door, apertures in the eaves, and incidental chinks in the roof. To these huts the doors are of cowhide or matted straw. Some of the Lewis crofters are without tables, the household eating from the floor upon their knees.[1]

Though meanly housed and living on the coarsest fare, the Lowland peasantry clothed neatly. During his visit to Scotland in 1661 Dr John Ray remarked that the peasantry were "fond of good clothes, wearing cloaks at the plough;" he quaintly adds that "on Sundays a fellow that has scarce ten groats besides to help himself with, you shall see come out of his smoaky cottage, clad like a gentleman."

In the uplands, clothing has long been regarded with indifference. During the eighteenth century highlanders ordinarily slept at night in the garments which they wore during the day, and ablutions were performed only on Sunday, when all and sundry

[1] The "Past and the Present," by Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D., Edin., 1880, 8vo, pp. 48-54.

laved their feet and washed their hands and faces in the nearest stream. Oatmeal was used as a substitute for soap. Razors were rare. The highlander dressed his beard with his scissors. Women washed their garments in rivers and stanks or ponds. Blankets and household articles of bulk they cleansed by treading upon them in tubs, with tucked up garments. This unseemly practice has not wholly ceased.

An English tourist, writing in 1788, remarks that immediately "after crossing the Solway Firth"—that is, after entering Scotland—he found "the children, and even many men and women, without either shoes or stockings." He describes elderly women as wearing a long, dirty cloak, reaching to the ground, with hoods drawn over their heads, and without shoes or stockings, or wearing huggers, that is, stockings with the feet worn away by hard service, or purposely cut from them.[2] According to James Boswell, the Right Hon. Charles Townshend used to relate that he was received at the house of the Lord President Craigie, about the year 1759, by "a female porter," without stockings or shoes.

Writing in 1769 Pennant remarks that in the Highlands married women used a kirch or linen cap, covering the head and falling behind their

[2] "A Tour in England and Scotland in 1784," by an English Gentleman, Lond., 1788, 8vo, pp. 70, 72.

necks. Maidens wore around their heads a simple ribband, called a snood. "If," remarks the Rev. Alexander Stewart, "a damsel was so unfortunate as to lose pretensions to the name of maiden, without acquiring a right to that of matron, she was neither permitted to wear that emblem of virgin purity, the snood, nor advanced to the grave dignity of the coif or curch."[1]

The mangle was unknown. Linen garments were smoothed by a mell or wooden pestle. To their caps and mutches females applied hot smoothing-stones. The ordinary smoothing-stone was a portion of water-worn rock, weighing about three pounds, and grasped by the hand with a wooden holder.

Hot stones were in the Highlands used for cooking. According to Captain Burt, the Highlanders made broth in wooden troughs, into which they introduced large red-hot stones, to induce boiling. This mode of cooking is still practised in Shetland. In the fourteenth century, according to Froissart, the Scots cooked beef in skins stretched on four stakes.

Except by husbandmen beef was used sparingly. So restricted was the general consumption that in 1750 there were in the town of Ayr killed annually not more than fifty head of cattle, though the town

[1] "Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Edin., 1883, 8vo, p. 6.

and suburbs contained about four thousand inhabitants. Within the larger hamlets an ox was fed on the common pasture for the joint benefit of the several householders. The slaughter of the animal was the occasion of an annual holiday. On the morning of slaughter-day, the animal intended for the knife had attached to its horns a chaplet of wild flowers. It was thereafter led through the village, preceded by a piper. The act of slaughtering was a public spectacle, and while the flesh had scarcely become cold, it was cut in portions to be divided among the householders. The offal was reserved for the poor. When sheep were killed for general distribution, the blade-bone was given to beggars; hence neck of mutton was called "the poor man." In small hamlets, a day was annually appropriated to the slaughtering of the village hogs and cleansing of the piggeries; it was styled *sow-day*.

When in rural districts bullocks were to be killed for sale, announcements of the intention were made publicly. In an advertisement intimating that a bullock was to be killed at Dalkeith on the 14th May 1723, it was set forth that "the said ox is two ells and one inch high; in length, from the root of the ear to his hip-bone, two yards three quarters. . . . It is calculated by all tradesmen that ever did see him that he will have ten stone-weight of tallow in his belly. . . . There is none in this age ever did see

any in this place of Britain like him; I doubt if any such as him be, or to be equalized in England at this day. He has been fed this two years, and he is only six years old just now."[1]

The cost of animal food at different periods is curiously interesting. In 1124 a cow was sold at 6s.; at Forfar, in 1314, an ox brought in market 6s. 8d., and a cow 5s. In 1424 the price of an ox remained as before, but in 1512 a stall-fed ox with its hide brought £3, 10s. In the inventory of Laurence Mercer of Meikleour, registered 26th May 1581, are enumerated: "fifty drawand [drawing] oxen at £8 each; twenty-two ky [cows] each at £6;" a bull at £3, 6s. 8d.; and "seven young calfis [calves] at £1 each." In the glebe stocking of Mr James Mercer, minister of Clunie, included in his inventory in 1656, a cow is valued at £18. In 1740, the year of scarcity, an ox weighing thirty stones was sold in Kincardineshire for one guinea sterling; in 1764 an ox had increased in price to two and three pounds. In Edinburgh, beef was in 1770 sold at 2d. and 2½d. per lb., being double the price which it brought in the same market ten years previously. And the pound of beef then contained 17½ ounces. The price of a sheep in 1124 was 1s. 4d.; in 1329, 2s.; and in 1512, 5s. In 1581 ewes and rams were in Perthshire valued

[1] *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of the 9th May 1723.

at 16s. each, and a lamb at 13s. 4d. In 1750 mutton was generally sold at 1d., and thirty years later at 2d. and 2½d. a lb. Prior to 1760 rural towns were without slaughter-houses.

Some prices of poultry and dairy produce at different periods may be quoted. A fowl which in 1295 was valued at one halfpenny brought 2d. in 1678, and in 1790 was sold for 5d. sterling. In 1329 a stone of cheese was sold at 1s., and in 1512 at 4s. 6d. The price of cheese per pound of twenty-four ounces in 1770 was 3d. sterling. Butter in 1512 fetched 6s. per stone, and in 1682, 4½d. per lb. of 28 ounces. The price of butter per pound in 1779 was 7d. sterling.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries butter prepared by cottars, whether for the public market or their own consumption, was carefully packed in wooden kegs and carried to peat bogs, and there for a season buried. It was held that in the absence of salt, moss preserved the butter; it also eliminated the taste of the rank herbage eaten by cattle. Hairs which appeared among butter were not removed from it, since it was superstitiously believed that when taken out, the cow which gave the milk would cease to thrive.

A duty on tallow, which interfered with domestic candle-making, led to the use of various substitutes. From early times the Highland cottagers used, in

producing artificial light, slips of birch and fir trees. More frequently was suspended, on a hook projecting from the wall near the fire-place, a common shell containing oil, and which gave light by a wick formed of a rush pith.

Tea was introduced in Scotland by the Duke of York, when in 1682, as High Commissioner, he held court at Holyrood. But its acceptance was slow. In his "Life and Times," Dr Somerville remarks that having inspected the household books of the Duke of Queensberry from 1697 to 1708, he had not found tea mentioned even once. The price of a pound of tea in 1715 was twenty-five shillings sterling. For many years it was used as medicine. In country places even a century ago, farmers' wives in preparing it for their guests carefully removed the liquor, which they believed unwholesome, and served up with butter or honey the boiled leaves. When as a beverage tea was advancing into general use, the Lord President Forbes began to apprehend that its consumption might induce national effeminacy. He therefore exerted his powerful influence in suppressing the trade. Under his direction, the traffic was denounced by county magistrates and civic corporations. By the Convention of Burghs in 1743, the consumption of tea was associated with the use of foreign spirits, and classed with it as a national evil. They passed a resolution complaining "of the

unhappy circumstances to which this part of the United Kingdom is reduced by the universal and excessive use of tea and foreign spirits, to which all ranks, even the very meanest of the people, are tempted by the low prices at which such commodities are afforded by the smuggler." They emphatically added "that the unrestrained use of such foreign goods, for the purchase whereof the coin of the country has for year after year been exposed, till at last the scarcity of bullion is very sensibly felt, has, in a great measure, supplanted the *consumption of malt liquors and spirits made of grain, the growth of the country*, whereof the value of barley and all grains fit for malting must necessarily be reduced, to the very great loss of all landlords and farmers over the kingdom." The Convention followed up their complaints by a petition to Parliament praying that "the universal and excessive use of tea and foreign spirits" might be prevented. In the light of modern experience, a resolution respecting the use of tea by the tenants of William Fullarton of Fullarton, in 1744, is extremely ludicrous. It proceeds:— "We, being all farmers by profession, think it needless to restrain ourselves formally from indulging in that foreign and consumptive luxury called tea; for when we consider the *slender constitutions* of many of higher rank, amongst whom it is used, we conclude that it would be but an improper diet to

qualify us for the more *robust* and *manly* parts of our business; and therefore we shall only give our testimony against it, and leave the enjoyment of it altogether to those who can afford to be *weak, indolent, and useless.*" Tea as a beverage overcame every opposition, and before the close of the century it had penetrated to the most northern parishes, where by householders of the middle rank it was used daily.

On the extinction of agrarian servitude, the industrious portion of those emancipated rented land on the steel-bow system. Other liberated persons were content to be poor, or to accept only occasional employment. From the Rental Book of the abbey of Cupar we learn that cottars were, late in the fifteenth century, prohibited from employing serfs or neyfs. Those then styled *neyfs* were idle wanderers.

When James I. returned from England in 1424, he was in his state policy much guided by the usages of the southern kingdom. Desiring that strict justice should be extended to the indigent, he moved his Parliament to enact that "puir creatures" be provided with advocates to plead for them before a judge. This provision was followed up in 1534, when two advocates were publicly appointed as counsel for the poor. Idlers who begged from door to door were, by a law of James I., reprehended

and punished. It was ordained that "sornares[1] or companies overlyand the kingis lieges suld be arreisted and satisfie the king and partie." Sheriffs were instructed to inquire in their head courts whether there were any *faltouris* within their sheriffdoms, that they might be punished. It was also enacted that "na thiggar (beggar) be thoiled to beg, either in toun or country, between the ages of fourteen and seventy, nor unless they may not win their living otherways, in which case they are to be furnished with a certain token or badge by the sheriff in landward places, and by the aldermen and bailies in burghs; and persons without such token are to be charged by open proclamation to labour for winning their own living, under burning on the cheek, and being banished the country." In 1425, sheriffs were charged to inquire after idle persons that had no visible means of living, and to arrest and confine them, so "that the country might be unscaithed of them till their places of dwelling were discovered." Thereafter these idle persons were to be allowed forty days to find masters, or to betake themselves to a lawful craft, and if they were still found idle, they were again to be imprisoned, and to incur such further punishment as the king might determine. In 1427, James and his Parliament resolved that the Act

[1] Vagrants who insisted on taking up their abodes at the houses they visited were so described.

against beggars should be strictly enforced, sheriffs and magistrates being enjoined to carry out the provisions under a penalty of forty shillings.

By the Parliament of James II. in 1449 it was ordained "for the away-putting of sornares, overlyars, and masterful beggars," that all sheriffs, barons, aldermen, and bailies, as well within burgh as without, shall take inquisition of such persons at each court that they hold, and if any such be found, that they shall be imprisoned, and their horses, hounds, and other goods escheated. "Fools that are not bards," who moved idly about, it was enacted were by "their ears to be nailed to the trone, or to any other tree, and then cut off, and themselves banished the country." Those who returned from banishment were to be hanged. These Acts were renewed subsequently. By the Parliament of James IV., it was provided, in 1503, that the magistrates of burghs "thoil none to beg except cruiked folk, blind folk, impotent folk, and weak folk," under the penalty of paying one merk for every other beggar found in their several burghs.

In checking mendicancy the earlier enactments had failed, for in 1535 Parliament re-affirmed the previous Acts "for the refreyning of the multitude of maisterful and strang beggaris," by ordaining that these should be resolutely enforced. It was at the same time ruled that the aged, blind, and impotent poor should be

maintained in the parishes to which they severally belonged. For their further support contributions were to be procured by "head men" in every parish.

Repressive enactments had been very partially remedial, for in 1551 it is set forth in a public statute that the Earl of Arran, the regent, and his nobility were unable to pass through the streets on account of beggars "raming and crying upon them."

Towards the deserving poor the clergy exercised an exemplary benevolence. The brethren of Cupar monastery enjoined their tenants to provide for their indigent relatives, while in the abbey was kept a *bursa pauperum* for the benefit of persons in distress. The Abbey authorities also provided hospitals in which the sick might receive care and medical supervision. A physician was maintained upon the estate.

To provide adequately for the poor was a chief concern of the Reformed clergy. Under their administration indigent persons were provided for partly by collections at the doors of churches, and partly from the rents of the religious houses. Penalties recovered from persons under discipline were also used in relieving the indigent. From this source arose a revenue much in excess of the amount, which for behoof of the poor was contributed voluntarily. By granting authority for the construction of pews in the areas of churches, or by erecting these

and letting them at stated rents, were secured further revenues.

In maintaining burghal poor, Kirksessions were aided by the municipal corporations. In April 1561, a duty of twelve pence was by the Town Council of Edinburgh imposed on every tun of wine sold in the city, the money so raised being appropriated to "failed merchants and craftsmen." For behoof of the poor, as well as the support of the clergy, Queen Mary in December 1564, enjoined the magistrates of the capital to "lay a stent," that is, to levy an assessment. During the same year the Kirksession of the Canongate ruled "that no person get ony almes except that they haif been at the communion, saifand infants, fatherless, and sick persons as are in extreme sickness, or in extreme poverty."

By the Kirksession of Edinburgh in 1574, it was ruled that every unmarried pauper ahould receive a weekly allowance of two shillings, and married paupers double that amount. During sickness eighteen pence was to be added weekly. On the 27th October 1574, the Town Council of Edinburgh ordained "proclamatioun to be maid chargeing all vagabondis and idill personis to remove thame selffis of this toun and boundis thairof, within xlviij houris vnder the pane of scourging and birning on the chiek."

In 1574, also in 1579, the General Assembly with approval of Parliament renewed the older Acts for "the stanching of maisterful idle beggars." In the Act of 1579 it is set forth "that the said beggars, besides the other inconveniences which they daily produce to the commonwealth, procure the wrath and displeasure of God for the wicked and ungodlie form of living used among them, without marriage or the baptizing of their children." The Act provided that "all strong and idle beggars above the age of fourteen and under the age of seventy found wandering and misordering themselves shall be apprehended and brought before the provost and bailies in burghs and the justices of landward parishes in order to punishment." On the first conviction the offenders were to be placed in the stocks, and on being convicted a second time were to be scourged and with a hot iron burned in the ear. For continuing to lead a vagabond life, was assigned the punishment of death. Those harbouring vagabonds or strong beggars were amerced in penalties. By the same statute it was provided that any one maintaining any "beggar's bairns, above the age of five and under fourteen, should be legally entitled to their services, if a male, to the age of twenty-four, and if a female, to the age of twenty-eight."

Statutes of similar import were passed in 1592 and 1593, in the latter of which it is declared that

"lymmars and sornares" proceeded throughout the country, "sometimes disguised with false beards, or in linnen clothes, or in fool's garments;" others, it is set forth, feigned that they were "passing in pilgrimage to chapels and wells." By Acts passed in 1575, 1597, and 1601, Kirksessions and Presbyteries were empowered to solely administer for the poor, and to repress mendicancy. Consequent on this authority the Kirksession of Perth, on the 11th March 1604, "ordained John Jack, officiar," to apprehend and put out of the town "the strange beggars resorting in great numbers out of the highlands, who trouble honest men in the streets, especially on the Sabbath days, and are a great hindrance for the collection to the ordinary poor." The Kirksession of Dunfermline on the 14th October 1649 appointed the burgh executioner to "keep beggaris from entering the kirk-yard on Sundays," lest their importunities might diminish the contributions offered in the collecting plates. Subsequently the same Kirksession procured a wheelbarrow, in which the sexton might transport beyond their bounds aged and infirm persons who had no legal claim upon their funds. In November 1685 Margaret M'Ewen died at Dunfermline, while Robert Peirson, joiner, was at the instance of the Kirksession preparing "a barrow to transport her out of the parish."

The enactment whereby Kirksessions were entrusted with the relief of the poor was, in consideration of the influence possessed by the Presbyterian clergy among four-fifths of the population, sound and salutary. But a further provision that Kirksessions and Presbyteries should under a penalty be held responsible for the repression of mendicancy was obviously unreasonable. Sturdy vagrants, defiant of control, continued to lurk about molesting everybody. In March 1616 the Privy Council enjoined the magistrates of Edinburgh to expel "strong and idle vagabonds," which are described as infesting the Cowgate, Canongate, and other thoroughfares.

In 1617 Parliament, acknowledging the inability of ministers and elders to deal with sturdy wanderers, assigned the duty of restraining them to Justices of the Peace. These were authorized to appoint constables to every parish, and empowered to apprehend any suspected person "who sleepeth all day and walketh at night," also those who contemptuously disobeyed ecclesiastical censures. During the same year was passed another statute, whereby "well-affected persons were encouraged to receive orphans and the children of indigent parents, in order to their industrial upbringing. In recompense, children were enjoined to serve their benefactors till past the age of thirty, and to be subject to their

correction and chastisement in all manner and sort of punishments, death and torture excepted."[1]

Relieved of the irksome duty of repressing mendicancy, Kirksessions continued to exercise a beneficent care of the deserving poor. In 1641 the Kirksession of St Andrews arranged to send weekly through the town, under the inspection of the elders, a poor's *creel* or basket, in which were to be gathered articles both of food and clothing. The value of what in this manner was collected is entered along with the amount of the Sunday collections. On the 2d December 1651 the church collection is reported as amounting to £191, and "creel money" as representing a value of £21, 14s. 4d.

In the Parliamentary Act of 1579 are classed with vagabonds and "masterful beggars," idle people calling themselves Egyptians; in the statutes of 1592 and 1593 they are styled "counterfeit Egyptians."

Wandering tribes, which in the fifteenth century began to settle in the different countries of Europe, did not hail from Egypt as they pretended. As their language bore a resemblance to Hindustanee, it is probable they were of one of the lower castes of Sinde, which had migrated from India when on the Mahom-

[1] "History of the Scotch Poor Law," by Sir George Nicholls, K.C.B., London, 1856, 8vo.

medan invasion in 1399 Timur Beg became Great Mogul. In 1427 one hundred of the tribe appeared at Paris, representing that they were Christian pilgrims expelled from Egypt. Allowed to settle in France, they were there styled Bohemians. From France a portion of their number proceeded to Scotland about the close of the sixteenth century. In 1506 James IV. despatched to his uncle the king of Denmark a letter recommending to his royal care Anthony Gawine, "earl of Little Egypt," and his followers, who, he adds, had lately arrived in Scotland on a pilgrimage undertaken at the command of the Pope.

It is uncertain whether the pretended Earl of Little Egypt actually visited Denmark. Equally ignorant with his father as to the origin and character of the pretentious strangers, James V., on the 17th February 1541, issued a proclamation charging "all and sundry" to assist in maintaining the authority of "Johnne Faw, Lord and Erle of Little Egypt," against some members of his company who had threatened to renounce his control. And on the 6th June of the same year the Privy Council, in considering the quarrel between Faw and his tribe, remarked that the disputants "had agreed to pass hame and have the samyn [their quarrels] decydit before the Duke of Egypt."

In 1554 Queen Mary extended to "Johnne Faw"

her royal pardon for an act of slaughter. At length the true character of the fraternity being discovered, the Privy Council, on the 3rd April 1573, publicly declared that "the commonweal of this realm was greatumly damnifiet and harmit through certain vagabond, idle and counterfeit people of divers nations, falsely named Egyptians, living on stowth and other unlawful means." Therefore were they charged to settle forthwith in fixed dwellings and adopt industrial vocations, under the pain of imprisonment and scourging. Three years later the Privy Council in renewing their order accused the gipsies of "committing murders and theft, and abusing the simple and ignorant people with sorcery and divination." In the several Acts of Parliament from 1579 to 1609 relating to mendicants, gipsies are classed with them. Sent into exile by a special statute, John Faa, his son James, and several other gipsies were, on the 10th July 1616, sentenced to death for lingering in the country. In 1624 six Faas and two other male gipsies were executed.

According to the ballad, Johnnie Faa and his "fifteen weel-made men" carried off a Countess of Cassilis.

"O come with me, says Johnie Faa,
O come with me, my dearie;
For I vow and I swear by the hilt o' my swerd
That your lad shall nae mair come near ye."

The intrigue of Johnnie Faa with the wife of Lord Cassilis rests solely on the authority of the ballad, but tradition points to an old tower at Maybole as a place where the frail countess was confined.

On charges of robbery with violence, and of being habit and repute thieves and terrorists, four gipsies were, in the year 1700, tried at Banff. They were severally convicted and executed. One of their number, James Macpherson, the reputed son of a highland gentleman by a gipsy mother, is described as surrendering life in merry fashion :

> "He played a spring an' danced it roun'
> Aneth the gallows tree."

During the eighteenth century, acts of violence by gipsy tribes became rare. They travelled in small companies, squatting on commons and unoccupied corners. Latterly they became known as tinkers, from their habit of working in tin and soldering and repairing culinary utensils. After many uncomfortable wanderings in all parts of the country, and experiencing much oppression, they as a colony sought rest and safety at Yetholm, on the Border. There they hoped that when any of the emissaries of the law sought to enforce their obedience, they might retire into England, or penetrate into invisible recesses. The precaution, justified by their experience, was practically unneeded, for the community has for

considerably upwards of a century remained unmolested in their selected home. In their rush-roofed huts on either side of the Bowmont river they occupy two small settlements about half a mile apart. Having abandoned fortune-telling, the women dispose of straw mats, heather brooms, willow baskets, and horn spoons, which their husbands and sons and brothers fabricate. Adopting the manners and customs of civilised life, the present race are honest, serviceable, and courteous. As the old gipsy speech is forgotten, they use the vernacular. In the community are about eighty persons. They acknowledge a queen, to whom they show respect and deference. Some of the men work about farms, assist in harvest, and drive coals from the depots to rural dwellings. The women incline to enter domestic service. The children are sent to school, also to church, and are allowed to study the sacred volume. The surname of Faa, formerly common, has ceased. Now the prevailing surnames are Allan, Barclay, Blyth, Brown, Douglas, Gordon, Keith, Kennedy, Montgomery, Ruthven, Shaw, Tait, and Young.

The cave-occupying tinkers of Caithness are not of the gipsy race. They cannot be traced to any district apart from that in which they now reside. They work in tinned ware and manufacture horn spoons.

The native beggar and the gipsy were alike

denounced in the statutes, but they had no common sympathies, and lived apart. The condition of the country, in respect of native beggars, is, by Fletcher of Saltoun, in 1698, thus described: "There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, with others who, living upon bad food, fall into various diseases), two hundred thousand people begging from door to door, and though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of the present great distress, yet in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of those vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection, either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature. No magistrate," he adds, "could ever discover or be informed which way one in a hundred of those wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together on the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together."[1] Irascible, and disposed to arrive at unwarranted conclusions, Fletcher has, in these details, clearly exaggerated. But vagrancy, at the

[1] "Political Works of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun," Glasg., 1749, p. 100.

close of the seventeenth century, was greatly prevalent.

The class of mendicants, described in the earlier statutes as bards and minstrels, had a long succession. George Martine of Clermont, who in the year 1683 composed his work, *Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ*, refers to an order of beggars whom he styles *jockies*. These recited what he describes as "the *sloggorne* or war-cries," but which were probably fragments of Ossian. By "one of five that usually met at St Andrews," Martine was informed "that there were not now above twelve of them in the whole isle, but he remembered when they abounded."

In a rare and curious book, published in 1775, the author, James Fea, a surgeon in Orkney, after describing the indolence, wretchedness, and ignorance of people of the lower class in the northern isles, proceeds: "Every Saturday, on which day they are privileged to beg, a troop of miserable, ragged creatures are seen going from door to door, almost numerous enough to plunder the whole town, were they to exert themselves against it in an hostile manner, at least, if their valour was in proportion to their distress."[1]

By an industrious writer in a recent work have been supplied some interesting details respecting

[1] "The Present State of the Orkney Islands considered," by James Fea, surgeon, Edinb. 1775.

cairds and other sturdy vagabonds, who, from Aberdeenshire and other northern counties, penetrated southward during the eighteenth century. Some of them, in the hope of gain, joined the army of Prince Charles Edward, and after the defeat at Culloden, returned to the lawless courses which they had temporarily exchanged. Of these, one of the most conspicuous was John Gun, who, aided by his wife and other accomplices, pilfered at fairs and robbed solitary travellers. Personally Gun held himself as a sort of a chief. The director of plunderers and resetter of stolen goods, he undertook, on complaints being made to him, to discover lost property and restore it to the owner. The great-grandfather of the present writer, William Roger, having, as a magistrate, acquitted him on a charge insufficiently supported, Gun not long afterwards evinced his gratitude. For at a fair at Cupar-Angus, one of his servants being robbed of the price of a cow he had just sold, Mr Roger desired the bandit to aid in the recovery of the plundered coin. Expressing a readiness to be helpful, Gun sounded a whistle, when several rough-looking persons came up. After a short parley with them, he produced a handkerchief, in the corner of which was the ploughman's money, not yet opened up. In restoring the plunder, Gun refused all recompence, remarking how much he was pleased that he could render service "to a friend."

Along with three female accomplices Gun was, on the 28th September 1753, arraigned before the Circuit Court at Aberdeen charged as "an Egyptian," which then meant being habit and repute a thief. Testimony was borne by a witness that Gun's wife, Agnes Taylor, or *Snippie*, as she was usually called, had undertaken that Gun would discover and restore "any goods stolen in the mercat," on application being made to him. Other witnesses testified that Gun was chief of "a gang of thieves, or persons without a settled home." All were convicted, and Gun, as the leader, was condemned to execution. But the fatal sentence was not carried out, for a reason explained by Sir Walter Scott. Gun, according to Sir Walter, had determined to plunder a military officer bearing Government money; but on account of sharing the officer's hospitality at an inn he changed his intention and became his protector. This being reported to the Crown authorities, his life was spared. With his wife and daughter he was transported to Virginia; his subsequent history is unknown.[1]

Female vagrants were common. Some of these were of stalwart form, also of great strength, which

[1] "The Justiciary Record;" "Notes and Sketches illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century," Edin., 1877, 12mo, pp. 162, 171; "Lady of the Lake," Notes; "Black Kalendar of Aberdeen," [by James Bruce], Aberdeen, 1840, 12mo, p. 46.

on occasions of conflict they not reluctantly exercised. To wanderers, whether male or female, few farmers ventured to refuse lodgment in their barns, and to common shelter were added a supper of kale and breakfast of brose, also a gowpenfull[1] of pease or oatmeal.

But professional beggars were not wholly dependent on incidental shelter. In every hamlet there was some dwelling in which at small cost they could be entertained and lodged. The orgies which attended a gathering of mendicants at a lodging-house at Mauchline, Burns has made the subject of his "Jolly Beggars." The beggars' hostess at Mauchline was familiarly known as Poosie Nancy; hence the poet's lines:

"Ae nicht at e'en a merry core
O' randie, gangrel bodies,
In Poosie Nancy's held the splore,
To drink their orra duddies.
Wi' quaffin' an' laughin',
They ranted an' they sang;
Wi' jumpin', an' thumpin',
The vera girdle rang."

After an existence of three centuries the privileged beggars known as the King's Bedesmen or Blue-Gowns ceased in 1833, or fifty years ago. By the Treasurer-depute of James VI. was in June 1590 supplied to "Mr Peter Young, elimosinar, gowns

1 "A gowpenfull of meal" implied as much as might be held in both hands placed together in a concave form.

of blew clayth for twenty-four old men, according to the yeiris of his hienes age." In June 1617 the bedesmen numbered "fiftie-ane aigeit men according to the yeiris of his Majesty's age."[1] One was added to the roll each royal birthday, and at the same time every bedesman received a cloak of cloth of light blue colour, bearing a pewter badge, implying a license to beg. Along with the cloak was granted a leathern purse, containing as many pence or Scottish shillings as the sovereign was in years old. Each bedesman was expected to pray for the preservation of the king's life. Within the last sixty years Kirksessions of northern parishes granted the privilege of begging to widows and others in circumstances of indigence.

The burden of mendicancy upon the industrial classes had become almost insupportable, when in 1812 was established "The Society for the Suppression of Public Begging," which, followed by the establishment of Savings Banks, tended to root out a monstrous evil, also to promote a healthful reaction. By the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845 and the regulations of the Board of Supervision which followed upon it, begging has been generally overcome. According to the annual statement issued by the Board of Supervision, the registered and casual poor on the 14th January 1884 numbered

[1] "Treasurer's Accounts."

96,655, which with an estimated population of 3,848,238 shows 2·51 as the percentage of paupers. To the population the percentage in 1874 was 3·22. The cost of supporting the poor in 1882 was £834,657, each pauper being maintained at the average cost of £8, 11s. 11d.

The patriarchal or tribal system, suitable in celtic times, proved under different conditions a source of mischief. Revered as the father of his family, the chief of a clan received homage and support from his kindred; they personally obeyed him, and identified his interests with their own. And in a spirit of good neighbourhood, worthy of imitation, the larger septs took the lesser under their protection, exchanging for service on the one hand material help upon the other. In ordinary times the arrangement was abundantly satisfactory. But when any single member of a group of clans had cause, real or feigned, to differ with any member of another group, hostilities were engendered which involved the whole, and thereby induced a general confusion. For it was the rule, settled or understood, that the cause of a single, even of the weakest clan might not be surrendered, and that in its support all the power of the confederacy was to be exerted. As by each group the same sentiments were entertained, when an assault was committed by the one, reprisals were forthwith made by the other.

Attacks did not consist in open conflict, but in petty annoyances and the appropriation of cattle. And both confederacies maintained their struggle till their herds were wasted.

The spirit of adventure created, and necessity bidding defiance to law, the several clans which had at the first plundered each other afterwards sought to replenish an exhausted treasury by undertaking forays upon the adjacent lowlanders. During the latter part of the sixteenth, the whole of the seventeenth, and the first half of the eighteenth century, no herd of cattle or flock of sheep within twenty miles of the highland border was secure against plunder.

Many of the clans which bordered the lowlands abandoned the ploughshare, and grasped the dirk and claymore. During the Michaelmas moon, plundering parties set forth yearly from the uplands to provide their winter stores. In these nefarious operations wives encouraged their husbands, young women the lads of their affection. When the plunderers returned with droves of stolen cattle they were hailed with the honours due to successful heroes. In later times when chiefs could not actively approve of the property of those with whom they had no variance being ruthlessly snatched, their displeasure was expressed by a mild remonstrance.

The practice of cattle-snatching on the part of the

clans had reached a height, when in 1594 an Act was passed for the suppression of "wicked thieves and lymmers" of the Highlands and Isles. Among these are named the clans Macgregor and Macfarlane, and seventeen others; also many broken men in the counties of Argyle, Bute, Dunbarton, Stirling, and Perth, and the stewartry of Menteith. Likewise certain roving clans on the Border, particularly those bearing the surnames of Armstrong, Elliot, and Graham.

The clan Macfarlane, occupying the fastnesses on the west side of Lochlomond, made frequent incursions on the lowlands by night, the moon being proverbially their lantern. Their pibroch of *Hoggil nam Bo,* is by Sir Walter Scott rendered thus—

"We are bound to drive the bullocks
All by hollows, hirsts, and hillocks,
Through the sleet and through the rain;
When the moon is beaming low
On frozen lake and hills of snow,
Bold and heartily we go;
And all for little gain."

According to Captain Burt, it was a saying of the lowlanders that Highland chiefs told out their daughters' tochers [dowry] by the light of the Michaelmas moon. Nocturnal marauders formed into parties of from ten to thirty, and proceeded to traverse vast mountain tracts till they reached the field of plunder.

Each clansman became bound by an oath not to receive *tascal money*, that is, any reward offered by the owners of the stolen cattle in order to their discovery. The oath was made on a drawn dirk, after which the weapon was kissed. Such an oath was not to be broken unless made to a lowlander; it was then held to be worthless.

When the executive was feeble, Parliamentary statutes and royal proclamations became practically useless. Nor did the course adopted in 1660 of taking highland chiefs and landowners bound for the peaceable behaviour of their clans suffice in bringing offenders to justice. It became necessary to subsidise the plunderers. As cattle protectors, highland chiefs received from lowland lairds an annual tax. Among those who accepted guarding rents was Cluny Macpherson, chief of a powerful clan, and whose MS. Memoirs satisfied Sir Walter Scott that in the receipt of protection-money he had become rich.

Another noted cattle-protector was Macdonald of Barrisdale, who, possessed of much personal culture, was not ashamed to receive black-mail and earn it. Those neighbours who refused his help he reminded of their temerity by these lines of Virgil, which were engraved upon his broadsword:

> "Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
> Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

The most notable extorter of black-mail was Robert Macgregor, famous as *Rob Roy*. Second son of Donald Macgregor of the farm of Glengyle, a colonel in the king's service, Rob Roy rented land at Balquhidder and there prospered as a grazier. Like his predecessor on the farm, he levied black-mail from his neighbours as protector of their herds. To resent a harsh legal act he became a marauder. He owed money to the Duke of Montrose, and payment having been rigorously enforced, he determined on revenge. Proceeding to Glen Dochart, he seized the Duke's cattle and plundered rents which had been collected by his chamberlain. Penetrating into the lowlands, he appropriated the herds of those in amity with the Duke, under the plea that they occupied lands which belonged to the Macgregors. When Mr Abercromby of Tullibody's herds were carried off, the laird sought an interview with the marauder, and dining with him on steaks prepared from two of his own cattle, consented to pay the impost which had been claimed.

At Doune in Menteith, Rob Roy held an annual rent-day. Those landowners who paid mail were made secure for a year, but those who did not remained insecure both in their persons and goods. Henderson, laird of Westerton near Stirling, having failed to renew his mail, was not long afterwards seized on his own grounds and forcibly borne off. Macgregor was at

Balquhidder, but as the distance from Westerton was about twenty miles, the seizing party rested with their prisoner at the hamlet of Kilmahog near Callander. There they compelled their captive to entertain them with liquor, of which they drank copiously. Overcome by their potations they resolved to tarry for the night, but as a precaution against his escape, they removed the laird's shoes and laid him between two of their number, armed with dirks. As they slept soundly, the laird got up, and securing his shoes swiftly accomplished his retreat.[1]

Rob Roy died in 1734 at a considerably advanced age. The most celebrated of highland reivers, he was not the last who extorted tribute. Mr Graham of Gartmore, writing about the year 1746, remarks that the sum of £5000 was then paid annually in *black mail*, besides £10,000 to persons for protecting cattle against marauders. Among the organizations formed for the suppression of plunderers was the Black Watch, which consisted of six companies of highland soldiers. Established in 1724 with a complement of 480 men, it was eleven years later constituted as the forty-second regiment.

[1] "The History of Rob Roy," by A. H. Millar, Dundee, 1883, 12mo, pp. 287-8.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MUNICIPAL AND MERCANTILE.

In a portion of the forest enclosed with a bank and ditch, the early Briton in times of danger sought shelter for his family and cattle. In celtic speech this enclosure was called *dun*, a word which literally described its intention and use. Within the earthen enclosure or *dun* was subsequently reared the castle or stronghold. Castles were at first constructed within those enclosures which occupied heights, and which could be readily defended; hence the word *dun* is a common prefix in the names of many eminences throughout the country. At a further stage the followers of the chief who obtained shelter in the castle or within the surrounding ditch and rampart, built their huts in the locality, a circumstance which led to the name *dun*, pronounced town, being applied to any collection of dwellings in the proximity of a castle, or under the government of a municipality or overlord.

Roman *municipia* did not perish with the fall of the empire. In Western Italy those cities which had formerly been the centres of liberty and scenes

of self-government began in the ninth century to reassume their importance as the nurseries of commerce. Through the energy of those fishermen who prosecuted their calling on the lagoons which bordered the Adriatic, arose the city of Venice, and therewith the first germ of a distinct municipal independence. Thereupon supervened the trading privileges associated with commercial centres in Spain, France, and the Netherlands; privileges drawn from kings and nobles, and which though occasionally suppressed, might not be wholly set aside. Chiefly founded on the Roman *municipia*, there were in England at the time of the Norman Conquest about one hundred commercial centres. The merchants and traders which these centres contained were severally governed by their own laws.

Of Scottish trading communities, the early history is obscure. The greater number certainly took origin at the castellated enclosures of the chiefs, latterly at the monasteries and great churches; also at sheltered points of the sea-board and the mouths of estuaries. If we accept the authority of Wyntoun, Macbeth, who reigned from 1039 to 1056, was distinguished for his agricultural and commercial wealth. By Bishop Turgot, in his life of Queen Margaret, we are informed that in the reign of her husband, Malcolm Canmore, merchants who came by land and sea from various countries into Scotland brought with them

precious wares previously unknown. At the queen's instigation, the natives purchased from foreign traders clothing of various colours, decorated with ornaments, and by the wearing which they seemed to become as a new race.[1]

Scottish commerce, which derived an important impulse from Queen Margaret, was, under the government of her son, David I., materially advanced. Around trading communities David threw the protection of the law, and so became in a sense the founder of our municipal system. In his reign arose a century prior to the commercial confederation of the Baltic, two trading confederacies, one beyond the *Munth*,[2] the other comprehending the burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. To each of these southern towns David granted municipal charters, while he together formed them into a commercial court.

What David I. initiated, was by his royal grandson William the Lion effectively extended and fully carried out. Incorporating the principal towns by

[1] Turgot's "Life of St Margaret," translated by W. Forbes-Leith, Edin., 1883, 4to, p. 40.

[2] The *Munth* or Mount was the old name of the eastern section of the great chain of hills extending from the Clyde to the Dee, and now known as the Grampians. Till the fifteenth century the Munth constituted a grand line of division between the north and south of Scotland. By Wyntoun it is named as "the mowynth."

royal charters, he gave them the power of electing magistrates and of exercising self-government. Each trading community was now called a burgh, a designation which though originally signifying a mud-house, now conveyed rank and royal recognition. The burgess of a royal burgh was privileged to swear fealty to the sovereign with his hand upon the scriptures, and not subserviently as between the hands of an overlord.[1]

In constituting his royal burghs, William the Lion made important stipulations. With other limitations, every burgess behoved to possess a toft or rood of land within the burgh, and every magistrate chosen by the community was required to qualify himself by swearing fidelity both to the sovereign and to the electors. During the reign of Robert the Bruce, royal burghs were invited to obtain charters of feu-ferme from the Crown, so that the burghal cess might be retained for local purposes, on the annual payment of a *reddendo* to the Exchequer. From the period of their incorporation, the burghs yielded a large proportion of the national revenue in the rents of tenements and in mercantile customs. Long before the principle of representation can be discovered elsewhere, Scottish burghs sent delegates to a court of their own, where they framed laws for

[1] "Scotland under her Early Kings," 2 vols., 1862, Vol. I., pp. 294-9.

the common benefit, and determined what taxes they ought to contribute for the public service.

From the twelfth century, the course of trade is distinctly traceable. Prior to 1191, the monks of Melrose sent wool to the Netherlands, and obtained from Philip, Count of Flanders, the privilege of conveying their goods through his provinces without cess. And to the abbot of Melrose Henry III. of England, in 1225, granted permission to send a vessel to Flanders laden with wool and other merchandise. Henry gave a similar license to the abbot of Cupar.[1]

At points of convenient harborage towns arose upon the sea-board. These, so early as the thirteenth century, had become numerous, some of them important. On the east coast, many traders from Flanders effected settlements during the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. By the unexpected death of the latter in 1286, and the troubles which supervened, the continuance of traffic became impracticable, and it was on the part of the brave Wallace an act of consummate statesmanship that, when in 1297 he had recovered the national independence, he, with Sir Andrew Murray, his colleague in the Governorship, despatched to the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg and Lubeck a state missive

[1] "Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland," edited by Joseph Bain. 1881; i. 162.

desiring that the suspended trade might be renewed.

What Wallace sought to restore, King Robert the Bruce actively advanced. The northern *ansus* or confederation had ceased soon after the reign of William the Lion, but the southern confederacy was firmly maintained. From King Robert it received additional privileges, and was under the presidentship of the High Chamberlain constituted as a commercial Parliament. As the "Court of Four Burghs," it enacted rules of trading, which from time to time were altered or modified. It underwent various changes, till by an order of Parliament in 1487 it was superseded by the Convention of Burghs.

From the reign of David II. till the close of the regency in 1424, Scottish trade received imperfect recognition. James I. energetically promoted it. To commerce, James III. was not indifferent, for in 1478 he despatched ambassadors to the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy to seek a renewal of the privileges granted to those Scottish merchants who passed into Flanders. During the reign of James IV. foreign trade obtained that solid basis on which it has rested ever since.

By the early Scottish merchants were exported skins of sheep and rabbits, also the furs of the marten and weasel. During the reign of David I. hides and furs of greater variety were included among the

exports, such as the skins of the deer, fox, hog, goat, beaver, and sable. Wool and salt were exported largely, also different kinds of fish, including salmon, cod, ling, haddock, whiting, herring, and oysters.[1]

Among the earlier imports were gold, silver, copper, and other metals; household furniture, silk, and cloth of different kinds; also wines, oils, and fruits. In the sixteenth century the desire for decorated garments became a species of mania; it led to the importation of costly textiles. Paper, apothecaries' drugs, and articles in gold and silver, including jewelled rings, were also imported.

In the fourteenth century the principal shipping ports were Berwick and St Andrews, while business was conducted chiefly with Bruges. Younger sons of the landed gentry sought admission into mercantile guilds, and some traded prosperously. Merchandise, whether with foreign countries or in the home trade, was honoured, and successful traders privileged with municipal honours. Of the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Perth, the chief magistrate was allowed the designation of "Honourable," and was addressed as "Your Lordship." Craftsmen and mechanics, who worked with their hands, were held as ranking lower in the municipal scale.

[1] "Scotland in the Middle Ages," by Cosmo Innes. Edin. 1860, p. 236.

To the nobility and barons was allowed the privilege of exporting the produce of their own lands, and of importing commodities necessary to their households. But from traders were exacted stated dues. The earlier duties are not clearly defined, but in 1597 Parliament enacted that all merchandise brought into the realm should pay a custom of twelvepence on every pound's worth. The customs were farmed. In 1609, the export and import duties were leased for 115,000 merks. Goods were not admitted to England without payment of a heavy duty, but by an ordinance passed during the Protectorate in 1654, these custom rates were abolished. Re-imposed after the Restoration, the sentiments of friendship between the two nations which had begun to develop were considerably beclouded. During the earlier part of the century, a mercantile spirit had been created at Edinburgh and other ports, while the marked success of the East India Company, composed of English merchants, induced enterprising Scotsmen to embark readily in a similar adventure. An intelligent Scotsman, William Paterson, had already established the Bank of England, and on the counsel of this financier, northern capitalists ardently supported his proposal for instituting "The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies." In 1695 the Scottish Parliament gave their sanction to the undertaking, and in

the following year was procured a capital of upwards of £600,000 sterling, of which one-half was obtained in Scotland, the other half being subscribed chiefly in England. Thereupon a large and handsome structure for conducting the company's affairs was reared at Edinburgh, and arrangements entered upon for opening with Central America a general trade. On the 26th July 1698, a fleet of six ships built in Holland, and containing 1200 selected persons, was despatched from Leith. On the 4th November, reaching the Gulf of Darien, the intending colonists proceeded to rear and fortify the headquarters of a new Caledonia. But one misfortune after another supervened, and there were hot disputes, and a terrible privation. The ships of a second expedition sailed in May 1699, but when these reached Darien, the voyagers found the place as a desert studded with graves. A third expedition followed, only to intensify the disaster. Of all who had sailed from Scotland from first to last about thirty persons only survived, or were privileged to return home. The unhappy collapse was largely due to the unexpected withdrawal of nearly half the capital, consequent on the opposition of the English government. To Scotland the result was most injurious, owing to the large amount of money which had been irretrievably lost. But the event indirectly hastened the political union of the kingdoms, attended

with the uprooting of international jealousies, and which secured to the inhabitants of North Britain the earnest of an unrestricted commerce.

So early as the fourteenth century woollen garments were imported, the finer chiefly from Lille and Rouen. Silks were purchased in the markets of Aleppo, Damascus, and Alexandria, and dyed at Venice and Genoa. Taffeta, a light silk, was produced in France; velvet and satin in Italy. Linen was imported from the Low Countries, cotton from India, Egypt, and Cyprus, fur from Lombardy. The bed-sheets of James IV., composed of Holland linen, cost from eight to fifteen shillings per ell; his shirts, made of the same material, were at breast and collar embroidered with gold thread.

During the fifteenth century, foreign fruits were used by the opulent. Sugar, moist and in loaf, was procured from Italian marts, figs from Malaga, and dried fruits, spices, and confections from all parts of Europe.

Wine was imported at an early period. French wine was used at the court of Alexander III., and red and white wines are mentioned in the reigns of Robert the Bruce and David II.[1] The wines chiefly used in the fifteenth century were those of Gascony, Burgundy, the Rhine countries, and the Levant.

Rhenish wine was brought from Middleburg or

[1] "Exchequer Rolls," 1244-1359, vol. i. *passim.*

Campvere. Malmsey—held in high favour—was obtained at Candia and Cyprus.

Scottish merchants effected agencies at foreign ports. From 1493 to 1505 Andrew Halyburton acted as Scottish consul at Middleburg, transacting business also at Bruges and Antwerp, — his official appointment being that of "Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Low Countries." His "Ledger," which has been edited by Professor Cosmo Innes, is an important repertory. Through his negotiation wine was largely imported by Scottish merchants. Wine dealers from France opened marts at Dunbarton, and at other towns on the coast. The wine trade was protected by statute—adulteration being made a capital offence. Foreign wine merchants received goods in barter, such as wool and salmon.

Romany wine, a species of Burgundy, used in the monasteries, was, in the sixteenth century, accepted in payment of rent.[1] Claret and Rhenish wine were mulled and drunk hot.

During the reign of James IV. claret was by Scottish traders imported from Bordeaux.[2] The importation of claret from the mainland into the Western Isles was prohibited in 1609, and again in 1616 and 1622. In 1622 the Privy Council set forth "that one of the cheiff

[1] "Rental Book of the Abbey of Cupar," ii. xxi.

[2] "Treasurer's Accounts," vol. i., preface, ccix.

causes whilk procures the continewance of the inhabitants of the Ilis in their barbarous and incivile forme of living is the grate quantitie of wynes yeirlie conveyed to the Ilis, with the vnsatiable desire quhairof the saidis inhabitantis are so far possest, that quhen thair arrives any ship or other veshell thair with wynes, they spend both dayis and nightis in thair excesse of drinking, and seldome do they leave thair drinking, so long as thair is any of the wyne left, and sua that being overcome with drink thair fallis out many inconvenientis amangis tham to the brek of his majesteis peace." The penalty for introducing wines to the islanders was fixed at "twenty pundis to be incurrit be every contravenare *toties quoties*." By a further ordinance confiscation of the liquor was added as a punishment. But the prohibitions of the Privy Council, which on account of prevailing excess denied wine to the common people, did not abridge the privileges of the opulent. Landowners had permission to purchase claret according to the extent of their rent-rolls. To the humblest landowners were allowed 220 dozen of bottles, and by Macleod of Dunvegan[1] might be purchased 876 dozen.

During the sixteenth century claret was the usual beverage of the better class of burgesses. On the 24th December 1574, the Town Council of Edinburgh

[1] "Inverurie," by the Rev. John Davidson, D.D. Edin., 1878, p. 244.

ordained "that na wyne sek be sauld darrer nor fyve schillingis sax penneis [per pint]; and that the tavern durris be haldin oppin, and the said wyne sauld commounlie." By the Town Council it was ruled on the 29th December 1577, that wine was not to be sold at a price higher than £4, 6s. per tun. Claret, which in the first half of the sixteenth century was sold from sixpence to sixteenpence per pint, had at the end of that century nearly tripled in price.

Prior to 1780, when a heavy duty on its importation was imposed by Parliament, claret was a common beverage. For ordinary claret was paid fivepence, for the best tenpence a bottle. Visitors of all grades at the country mansion received a cup or bowl of claret when they entered, another on departing. In the family of the Lord President Dundas at Arniston House, about the middle of the eighteenth century, sixteen hogsheads were consumed annually. A cure for all ailments, claret in winter was reputed for diffusing warmth, in summer as neutralizing the pernicious effects of more potent beverages. When a vessel laden with claret arrived at Leith, the owners notified the occurrence by carting a number of hogsheads through the streets, and causing an attendant to proclaim where the liquor might be purchased.

Among the statutes of James I. providing for a higher degree of culture was included the enactment

that hostelries be established in all burgh and market towns with accommodation for man and horse. By a further statute in the same reign it was ruled that no man, travelling whether on horse or foot, might presume to lodge elsewhere than in the hostelries, while any, save innkeepers, who ventured to entertain travellers, would become liable to a penalty of forty shillings. From the poet William Dunbar's description in his "Friars of Berwick," it may be assumed that certain innkeepers of the sixteenth century enjoyed comfortable surroundings. But the majority of inns then and long subsequently were poor and mean. Sir Walter Scott has in *Marmion* described the rural hostel in these lines:—

> "Soon, by the chimney's merry blaze,
> Through the rude hostel might you gaze;
> Might see, where in dark nook aloof
> The rafters of the sooty roof
> Bore wealth of winter cheer;
> Of sea-fowl dried, and soland's store,
> And gammons of the tusky boar,
> And savoury haunch of deer."

During the seventeenth century taverns abounded. In 1669 the magistrates of the Canongate enacted that drinking in taverns should cease when at night "the ten-hour bell was tolled." A considerable inn in the White Horse Close at the foot of the Canongate, accommodated in the seventeenth century and subsequently those travellers who came

to Edinburgh from the south. During the eighteenth century a hostelry in St Mary's Wynd, Edinburgh, had stabling for an hundred horses and sheds for twenty carriages.

Those innkeepers or stablers who a century ago kept horses for hire, seldom provided accommodation for their riders. When travellers arrived at their establishments, they conducted them to private lodgings, but gave lodgment to the attendants.

At a period when travellers were few, tavern-keepers chiefly depended upon local traffic. A century ago the principal lawyers and physicians of Edinburgh met their clients and patients in the public taverns. In his autobiographical sketch, Dr Thomas Somerville remarks that in the eighteenth century the first and last item in a lawyer's bill of costs was a tavern bill. The celebrated physician, Dr Archibald Pitcairn, who died in 1713, had his consulting-rooms in the dingy underground apartments of a tavern near St Giles' church, known as the groping office. At Fortune's tavern, in the Stamp-Office Close, the High Commissioner to the General Assembly held his levees, and men of fashion held their clubs and social gatherings. Lawyers met their clients at Douglas's Tavern in the Anchor Close. Magistrates and town councillors feasted at a tavern in Writer's Court, known as the Star and Garter. John Douie's tavern in Liberton's Wynd was a noted

supper-house.[1] At a time when Edinburgh citizens were content to transact business and dine and sup in the ordinary taverns, it may readily be conceived that their home comforts were few and circumscribed. On the event of his marriage in 1730, John Coutts, afterwards Lord Provost of the city, established his residence in one of the lofty tenements in the High Street approached from the Parliament Close. His dwelling, which consisted of five apartments, was on the second floor; it was reached by a flight of steps known as the President's Stair, a Lord President of the Court of Session having at a former period resided on the premises. Within his very small dwelling Mr Coutts conducted an important banking-house, and gave liberal feasts. In 1773 James Boswell entertained Dr Samuel Johnson in his house in James's Court, Lawnmarket, which, though containing only a few small rooms, had formerly been the residence of the celebrated David Hume, also of Dr Hugh Blair, the eminent preacher.

Prior to the third decade of the eighteenth century, when an improved system of domiciliary arrangement became common, few families in Edinburgh possessed self-contained dwellings. The judges and other members of the College of Justice, also the

[1] For a vivid representation of tavern-life in the capital during the eighteenth century, see Dr Robert Chambers' "Traditions of Edinburgh," 1868, 12mo, pp. 174-191.

clergy and more opulent citizens, lived in flats or floors, often approached from ill-ventilated courts or alleys. And it is difficult to understand how those who maintained a restricted correspondence received the missives sent to them, for the houses were without numbers and also without names. The great northern family of Dunbar, when they had occasion to communicate with any of their members in the capital, addressed their letters with a minuteness which could hardly fail to guide the postman. Thus: "For Mr Archibald Dumbar of Thundertoune, to be left at Captain Dumbar's writing chamber, at the Iron Revell, third storie below the Cross, north end of the close, at Edinburgh."[1]

Though at different times inferior in trading importance to Aberdeen and Berwick, and even St Andrews, Edinburgh has steadily, from the eleventh century, maintained its position as the national capital. Yet in 1385, when it was destroyed by the English, it is described as composed of houses chiefly built of mud and roofed with thatch. Subsequently its dwellings for a course of centuries were of timber, with the result that when a fire broke out every habitation in the neighbourhood was reduced to ashes. At different times were burned the towns of Aberdeen, Montrose,

[1] "Social Life in Former Days," by E. Dunbar Dunbar, Edin., 1865, 8vo, p. 33.

Stirling, Haddington, Forfar, and Lanark. On the 17th July 1652 a fire broke out at Glasgow in a narrow lane east in the High Street. The city being almost wholly of timber, the flames speedily swallowed up a third of the dwellings, rendering homeless about a thousand families.

A conflagration occurred at Edinburgh on the 3rd February 1700. About ten o'clock in the evening flames began to issue from a building situated between the Cowgate and the Parliament Close. Lord Crossrig, whose residence adjoined, made a narrow escape, all his family property being destroyed. Several houses fourteen storeys high, also the buildings of the Bank of Scotland, were wrecked. Only by extraordinary precautions the Parliament House, which then contained the records of the kingdom, was preserved.

In the absence of insurance companies, the destruction of buildings by fire in the seventeenth century entailed a heavy loss upon individuals. But the public benefited, for by a contribution made in every parish, the dwellings were rebuilt, and these were raised of stone instead of timber. Two fires, which occurred at Edinburgh on the 15th and 16th November 1824, especially conduced to the architectural improvement of the city. At the earlier conflagration was destroyed the wooden steeple of the Tron Church, which was substituted by an erection in

stone. In the second fire perished the south-east side of Parliament Square, of which the ugly and unwholesome tenements of fourteen storeys made way for an elegant fabric in harmony with the Parliament House. Till about a century ago, the principal streets of the larger burghs presented an uneven and dangerous surface. The main streets of St Andrews in 1790 were paved with large boulders drawn from the adjacent fields, and which, sunk at intervals, served as stepping-stones in winter and after floods. Side pavement was rare; what did exist was detached and broken. Street lamps were few in number, and were supplied with inferior oil and badly managed. On the 10th October 1688, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh reported to the Town Council that he had bought at London "twenty-four lanthrons for the use of the good toun," whereupon the Council ordered them to be fixed "upon iron sweyes upon the most convenient places of the High Street and Cowgate." The burgh of Canongate was under separate government, but other thoroughfares of the capital were probably at night left in darkness. During the eighteenth century the citizens of Glasgow were, when visiting of a winter's evening, accompanied by men servants, who bore a lamp in one hand and carried a bludgeon in the other. Evening street robberies were common. At Perth, banditti from the mountains drew ropes across the streets in

order to trip those whom they intended to rob. Up to 1809 the streets of Edinburgh had lamps only in winter, and prior to 1830, few provincial towns possessed lamps at any season. Many industrious shopkeepers both at Stirling and Dunfermline were ruined through nocturnal plundering.

The insalubrious condition of Scottish towns during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even at a period nearer to our own times, was such as to create disgust. The magistrates were not inactive, but the habits of the burgesses and their servants were essentially filthy. While ventilation was unpractised, there was no sewerage, and heaps of offensive rubbish abounded at every turn. On these heaps which accumulated on the streets of Edinburgh hogs were fed.

The desirableness of checking so enormous an evil must have appealed strongly to the Town Council, when, on the 30th April 1585, they ordained, "for avoyding of all filth and evill favour quhairby any inconvenient may aryse in this somer seasoun, that na maner of persouns suffer thair swyne to pas in the hie streits, commoun clossis, or vinells, or furth of bandis in any oppin places, fra this day furth, vnder the payne of slawchter of the swyne and payment of ane vnlaw of xls. swa oft as thai failyie, and the awner to be putt in the thevis hoill or tolbuith quhill the said vnlaw be payet." With

respect to the matter of swine-feeding, this injunction did not prove permanently efficacious, for nearly two centuries later—namely, in 1760—children attending the High School, and even the daughters of gentle citizens, obtained diversion by mounting upon the backs of hogs, which then were daily wanderers in the streets and alleys.

Subsequent to a state visit by Queen Mary in 1561, the Town Council of Dundee issued "an edict for the daily inspection of middens." And on the 27th July 1591, they appointed "the common officer for executions to attend upon keeping clean of all the calsays, streets, and the kirkyard." And in order to his effectually fulfilling the duties, they ordered for the officer's use "ane wheill-barrow upon the tounis chairges," "disponed to him the haill fuilzie," and further gave him liberty to "slay and appropriate all swine that he can apprehend within the burgh." These were perquisites additional to "twa shillings and eightpence," which the officer received "ouklie" (weekly) in salary as executioner.

In 1692 the magistrates of Edinburgh arranged with several farmers for the employment of "muckmen" or scavengers to cleanse the city from time to time; also to watch the streets, and to apprehend those who cast out nuisance. At a later period the city rubbish was cast upon "the Barefoot Park,"

beyond the North Loch, on which the new town was subsequently reared.

A practice obtained at Edinburgh, which, amidst many efforts for its suppression, long persistently defied municipal authority. Every night from ten to twelve o'clock liquid filth was, from the windows, thrown upon the street. Before perpetrating the nuisance, the thrower was understood to call out in French, *gardez l'eau*, while the passer by was expected to arrest the discharge by exclaiming in the vernacular, "haud yere haund." Yet many persons were daily soused in the polluted waters. This loathsome habit and other repulsive social practices of the capital having attracted the attention of the legislature, an Act was passed in 1686 compelling magisterial interference. But the troubles which attended the Revolution caused the statutory provision to be overlooked, so that about sixty years later, namely, on the 14th August 1745, the Town Council, considering that inasmuch "as the several Acts as to the throwing over foul water, filth, dirt, and other nastiness in the high streets, vennels, and closes, had not been put into due execution, each family should now provide vessels in their houses for holding their excrements and foul water, at least for forty-eight hours." They further prohibited any kind of filth "to be casten out of doors, or any filth or water to be casten over the windows, either back or fore, under

the pain of four shilling Scots." For offending a second time it was ruled that "the servant shall stand on the pillory between ten and twelve o'clock in the forenoon," and for the third fault that she be whipt by the hand of the hangman, and banished the city." In the enactment, it is set forth that the Council had proceeded "by advice of the Lords of Session."

In 1749 the Council's order was renewed, but the obnoxious habit continued as before. In 1772, Robert Fergusson made the window nuisance the subject of these satiric rhymes :

> "With an inundation big as
> The burn that 'neath the Nor' Loch brig is,
> They kindly shower Edina's roses
> To quicken and regale our noses.
>
> . . . .
>
> For stink, instead of perfumes, grow,
> And clarty odours fragrant flow."

At length a method was devised by which cleanliness, both in the house and on the street was made secure. At the landlord's cost, a vessel sufficient to contain a day's refuse was provided to every dwelling, while scavengers employed by the corporation removed the contents each morning, to be carried off by them in carts and waggons.

While noisomeness prevailed in the capital, a higher sanitary condition was not to be expected

elsewhere. When Queen Mary made a second visit to Dundee in 1564, she found that "the deid of the haill burgh is buryit in the midst thereof, quhairin the common traffic of merchandeese is usit, and that throw occasion of the said burial, pest and vther contagious sickness is engenderit." The evil her Majesty remedied by granting to the burgh as a place of sepulchre, the site of the Greyfriars' monastery. From his father the present writer had some particulars as to the wretched condition of St Andrews upwards of a century ago, when he entered as a student its ancient university. Within the centre of the city an open space was known as the *Foul Waste;* into this was thrown rubbish of every sort, which accumulated in festering heaps. The ruins of the venerable cathedral and of Blackfriars Monastery were tainted by ordure, while the alleys and lanes and courts were receptacles of filth. The city of Perth, of which the condition was, a century ago, equally loathsome, was partially cleansed by frequent inundations of the Tay, on the banks of which it rests. On a day, about midsummer, a century ago, the inhabitants of Stirling left the place, while carters and their assistants cleansed the many cesspools, and removed the dust heaps which during the preceding twelve months had accumulated at every door. Where filth abounded pestilential sickness prevailed and dominated. From the thir-

teenth to the seventeenth century upwards of thirty epidemics swept across the country, some of which decimated the population. These epidemics were called "visitations," owing to the general belief that they were sent as a Divine scourge and in direct punishment of sin. Calderwood informs us that after two ministers, Mr John Forbes and Mr John Welsh, had been subjected to imprisonment for attending the General Assembly held at Aberdeen in July 1605, the pest "broke out at Edinburgh, Leith, St Andrews and other parts." The historian adds that of this pest died the eldest son and brother's daughter of Sir Alexander Seton, the High Chancellor. The epidemic lingered at Perth, where the infected were borne from their dwellings to the burgh muir. In order to defray the cost of removal and otherwise to provide for the sick, the Magistrates and Kirksession agreed to commute to social offenders the usual sentences as to appearing on the repentance-stool for certain penalties or money payments. When this course had some time been pursued, a notion arose that the relaxation of discipline had provoked the Divine wrath so as to induce a continuance of the distemper. Severity was therefore determined on. With the approval of the Kirksession the Magistrates revived a dormant statute, and so sentenced to death two persons, a man and woman, who were charged with adultery. That the expiation might be more

effective, we learn from Mercer, the local chronicler, that the woman was hanged "fore-anent her mother's yett."[1]

It was probably during the prevalence at Perth of the lingering pestilence of 1605, that an event occurred, attended by the production of a popular ballad. Two damsels belonging to burgess families at Perth, had during the pest sought refuge together in the country, in order to avoid the dreaded contagion. Better to insure safety they made their retreat to the banks of the Lednock stream, several miles from the city, where they built a bower or rustic hut as a temporary home. But the damsels were admired by a youthful townsman who visited them at the Lednock. Unhappily he bore the infection, and the maidens being smitten, both of them were cut off. The ballad which relates the tragic story begins thus—

"O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,
They are twa bonnie lasses;
They bigg'd a bower on yon burn brae,
And theek'd it o'er wi' rashes."

"The plague of the pock," as it was called, ravaged at Aberdeen in 1608, and this, it has been held, was the first time that smallpox was experienced in that

[1] "Chronicles chiefly of remarkable occurrences in Perth," by John Mercer, Town Clerk. MS. in the Advocates' Library. Mercer was elected Town Clerk of Perth in 1623.

northern district. From that period till it was subdued by means of vaccination, very many children and adults became victims to the complaint. In several epidemics the existence of the disease was indicated by a redness of the skin and the breaking out of boils.

Many distempers or pests were not infectious, these being contracted through rigid exposure, imperfect nourishment, or unsavoury surroundings. A widely prevailing malady was known as the leprosy; it was a form of scurvy. With this complaint King Robert the Bruce was afflicted, as, subsequent to his coronation, he was exposed to many painful privations. When in his extremity he was harboured by the men of Prestwick near Ayr, he discovered in the vicinity a mineral spring, by using which he was cured. Subsequent to his victory at Bannockburn, he gave token of his gratitude by rearing at the spring a small hospital, which he endowed for the benefit of indigent persons who might suffer from his complaint. The hospital, which was known as the *King's Casa* or *Case*, is now a ruin, but the endowment, though diverted from its original use, is administered by the Poor Law authorities at Ayr on behalf of certain pensioners. Whether from the example of King Robert, or owing to a prevailing necessity, spittals or hospitals for lepers or those suffering from scurvy were erected in the vicinity of

every town. When the patients were destitute of funds, and prolonged treatment was needful, the inhabitants were taxed.

Between those diseases which spread by contagion and those which did not, Scottish physicians in the fifteenth century could not intelligently discriminate. The abbot and monks of Cupar salaried "a mediciner," and, by his counsel, at Pentecost 1466, one of their tenants who suffered from an ailment not exanthematous was compelled to make pledge that "after the first year's sowing he would freely depart from his wife and healthy children to a place which he shall choose, suitable to his infirmity, and that he would not return." [1]

The dread of contagion proved an intolerable bugbear. When in 1574 it was reported that a "pest" had appeared at Leith, and that a Frenchman lodging there had brought it from London, the Town Council of Edinburgh charged all who resided under the same roof with him to keep within doors. And when, eleven days afterwards, it appeared that the disease was spreading both at Leith and on the shores of Fife, the Town Council enjoined "that na maner of persoun, inhabitant of this burgh, nor otheris resoirtand to and fra the samyn, vse ony kynde of trafficque with the indwellaris of the tovne of Leith or Kirkaldie, nor nane of the saidis tovnis resoirt to this

[1] "Rental Book of the Abbey of Cupar," i. 145-6.

tovne, nouther ony boitis or pepile of the said tovne of Kirkcaldie, thair gudes or geir, to be resauit or resett in the said tovne of Leith, . . . vnder the payne of deid."

Thereafter the sick were ordered to "inclois thame selfis, keip clois, and vse na traficque with thair nychtbouris." Further, the ports of the burgh were closed, save the Netherbow and West Port, which six persons were appointed to guard. Thereafter the Burgh Muir was converted into an hospital, and other localities designated for use by families who had removed from the scene of infection. When in 1585 the pest reappeared, a watch was set on those who occupied any plague-smitten dwelling, that they "might not escaip or rin away." As the disease spread, lodges for the sick were reared on the Burgh Muir, while at the Sciennes, another portion of burghal property, the inmates of infected houses were accommodated. That beggars might not spread the infection, they were committed to "the thievis hole." Conventions of idle persons were prohibited, the sale of vegetables forbidden, and a great caldron for the cleansing of infected clothing purchased and put to use. To provide effectively against contagion, it was determined that all suffering from the pest, and "concealing the same," should be subjected to instant trial, and if found guilty should be "execut to the deyth at the stray mercat." In order to the carrying

out of this enactment an additional executioner was appointed, and a gibbet placed at the Burgh Muir. For minor offences during the plague, a pair of irons with their shackillis were borne from the Tolbooth to the Burgh Muir. While these proceedings were enacted, the Town Council met thrice a-week for deliberation, and assembled daily for "prayers and sermon." But as better drainage and improved ventilation were unthought of, the epidemic continued till congregations were without elders, and all the students of the University had dispersed in terror. During the same year 1427 persons died of the plague at Perth, or about one-fourth of the inhabitants.[1]

In 1645-6 an epidemic arising from miasma devastated the central districts. At Stirling, the Town Council held their meetings in the open fields, and at Perth in the following year the church doors were closed from the 22nd August 1646 till the 3rd January 1647.

Among the various devices for suppressing the progress of disease, one of the most reasonable least obtained favour. When in 1553 it was suggested to the Town Council of Edinburgh that for the more efficient treatment of the sick an hospital should be built which might contain forty beds, and be provided with physicians and surgeons, the proposal

[1] Mercer's MS. Chronicle, Advocates' Library.

was rejected.[1] And while in 1585 "fowle clengers" were by the Town Council appointed to remove from the streets fetid accumulations, the cleansing process was simply a nominal one. To the counsel of physicians, that it is easier to prevent the occurrence of an epidemic than when it has obtained hold to check or overcome it, magistrates and the clergy gave no heed. Those indeed who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries practised medicine according to the rules of science or of common sense were generally disapproved. Burgesses and their wives reposed the greatest confidence in the half-educated barber-surgeons, while by many persons of a lower grade even these were discountenanced. Unlicensed practitioners possessed the popular confidence. A book of pretended medicine, entitled "Tippermalloch's Receipts," obtained wide acceptance. Ascribed to John Moncrieff of Tippermalloch in Perthshire (who if really the author must have been insane), the receipts assigned as a remedy for fever an application of the common snail, while ordinary diseases were to be cured by swallowing the powder of human bones. To such an extent prevailed the nostrums of quacks, that an order of persons in the highlands derived subsistence by pretending to cure ailments by counteracting the influence of "an evil eye," or the power of enchantment by which they

[1] Edinburgh Town Council Records.

had been produced. At Lochawe, a properly qualified physician of the eighteenth century was, in order to continue his practice, driven to the expedient of distributing with his medicines sprigs of the mountain-ash and other amulets.

In rural districts, cutaneous complaints and rheumatic and pulmonary ailments, also intermittent fever, lingered in districts flat and undrained. On the carse lands of Stirling and Menteith, the inhabitants usually died at forty and fifty; those who survived were diseased and feeble. Since the introduction of a thorough system of drainage, ague has ceased, and rheumatic and pulmonary ailments have proportionally diminished.

The great fires which destroyed towns and hamlets purged and purified them. By the conflagration at Edinburgh in February 1700 was rooted out a noxious focus of disease and death. But the Town Council of the city regarded the event as "a fearful rebuke of God."

Dementia is largely though not exclusively the product of the marsh; when blood poisoned by malaria circulates in the brain, it vitiates and corrupts its substance and texture. Insanity engendered, the victim transmits to his descendants a terrible inheritance. Passing one generation, the malady may with renewed strength assert itself in the next. Marsh poison in madness taints for generations,

so long indeed as subsist the conditions under which it was generated. Those persons who were burned for sorcery, on confession that they had held interviews with the devil, were victims of lunacy. During the period which preceded the abolition of trial for sorcery, the ordinary provision for the insane were the stake and the funeral pile.

Persons were executed as assassins and traitors who, properly characterised, were dangerous lunatics. John Cheislie of Dalry was descended from a crofter at Quothquhan in Clydesdale. In boyhood his paternal grandfather, who bore the same Christian name, attracted the notice of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, to whom the lands of Quothquhan belonged. At Sir James's expense he was educated for the ministry, and in 1617 was appointed minister of his native parish. Of his three sons, John, the eldest, was secretary to the celebrated Mr Alexander Henderson. In compliment to his employer, he was knighted by Charles I.; he obtained charters of the lands of Kerswell and Symontoun. William, the second son, a Writer to the Signet, became proprietor of Drumgray. The third son, Walter, brewer in Edinburgh, purchased in 1655 a portion of the estate of Dalry in the vicinity of the city; to this his only son John eventually succeeded.

That blood-poisoning which had been contracted by his progenitors in the marshes of Clydesdale pro-

duced in John Cheislie actual madness. Violent and self-opinionative, he only recognised as worthy of deference the members of that house through whose patronage his family had gained their original elevation, while in their turn the Lockharts continued to hold in affection a family socially created by their beneficence. When Dean of Faculty, Sir George Lockhart, grandson and representative of Sir James of Lee, was, along with John Cheislie, witness to a baptism in 1676 in the family of John's uncle William.[1] And, unreasonable as he was, when John Cheislie, twelve years later, drove his wife and children from his dwelling, and thereafter refused to contribute to their support, he chose as umpire with another in settling the dispute, Sir George Lockhart, now Lord President. But, contrary to his insane hope, his Lordship, along with his co-umpire, Lord Kenmay, decided that he should contribute £93 a year towards the family maintenance, a result which, changing Cheislie's reverence into hate, also excited his revenge. He would shoot the Lord President, he said to his uncle William, who warned his Lordship of his danger. Some time after Cheislie went to London, but speedily returned. On Sunday, the 31st March 1689, he endeavoured to obtain access to a pew in St Giles' church behind that occupied by the President. Failing in this, he refused

[1] Edinburgh Births' Register.

to enter the church, but walked about in the vestibule till the service was concluded. He then proceeded to the lane conducting from the Lawnmarket to the President's house, when one of his Lordship's family remarked to him: "I thought you had been in London." "I am there now," responded the lunatic, who, as the President came up, drew a pistol from his dress and took mortal aim. The President fell and the desperate maniac stood unmoved. On being informed that the President was dead, he remarked that he "was not used to do things by halves." Subjected to a trial in the municipal court, he was illegally examined by torture, and, though clearly insane, was sentenced to mutilation and death; his body was hung in irons.

The lunacy of John Cheislie was inherited by his children. Walter, one of his sons, in 1722, perished in a conflict with a brother officer to whom he had been insolent. His daughter, Rachel, had a remarkable career. Wife of the Hon. James Erskine, Lord Grange, she became a noted virago, indulging imprecation and an unreasonable resentment. Her sister-in-law, who had not interfered with her wayward fancies, she publicly denounced in presence of the congregation which on a Sunday issued from the Tron Church. At a further stage she cursed her children. She menaced that she would attack, with words of execration, her husband as he sat upon the

bench, and actually made several attempts upon his life. Efforts to soothe or gratify her proved utterly unavailing. She was a dangerous lunatic, and there was in Scotland at the time no asylum for persons of her rank who suffered from her malady. With the approval of her children, all being of mature years, Lord Grange adopted the desperate measure of forcibly sending her into exile. The story of her deportation has been surrounded with romance; it was simply a necessity. Mrs Erskine was borne from Edinburgh on the 22d April 1732; she died at Skye in 1745.[1]

In 1676 the Town Council of Edinburgh appointed four of their number to procure in the House of Correction "roume for keeping the distracted people," and in 1684 a payment of £36 was made from the Kirk Treasurer's Account to the keeper of the Correction House "for prisoners, whoors, and mad people." At length in 1698 the Town Council resolved to erect a Bethlehem or Hospital for the insane, but though a sum of £8000 Scots was appropriated to the object, the intention failed.

When, in 1738, the Infirmary at Edinburgh was founded, a portion of the lower floor was allocated to lunatics. And in 1745 twenty-one cells for dis-

[1] See "Miscellany of the Spalding Club," iii. 58-67; Wodrow's "Analecta," iv. 165; "Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle," pp. 5-16; Paper by David Laing, LL.D., "Proceedings of Scottish Society of Antiquaries," xi. 594-608.

tracted persons were reared in the workhouse, while the Darien House was also adapted as an asylum. But the question of treating medically those labouring under cerebral disease continued to excite only a partial interest, for when in 1763 was rendered available a bequest by John Watson, Writer to the Signet, which was to be applied at Edinburgh for a charitable purpose, it was ruled by the executors that an institution for foundlings was more beneficent than a refuge for the insane. The Foundling Hospital was established, and as this led to the public exposure of illegitimate children, it was by Lord Kames strongly characterised as "more noxious than a pestilence or famine." In reality the offspring of the dissolute were accommodated in a palace, while those mentally afflicted continued objects of neglect. When Robert Fergusson, the poet, was seized with that violent mania, the precursor of his early death, he was borne to the parish workhouse, and there deposited among loose straw upon the earthen floor. In this condition he was allowed to close his life; he died upon the floor of the Edinburgh workhouse on the 16th October 1774.

Fergusson was under the medical care of Dr Andrew Duncan, and the deplorable state of his last surroundings left on the mind of that benevolent physician a powerful and lasting impression. Dr Duncan continued to urge upon his fellow citizens the importance

of providing a proper place of refuge for lunatic patients. At length in 1791 a definite proposal for establishing an asylum at Edinburgh was submitted to the public, and contributions solicited. But the combined influence of the Lord Provost and Magistrates, and of the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons, failed to awaken any due concern in an undertaking than which none more truly philanthropic could possibly have been devised. Even at the expiry of fifteen years, the contributions did not exceed the sum of one hundred pounds. But in 1806 the movement fortunately secured the support of Sir John Sinclair, through whose benevolent efforts a grant of £2000 was obtained from the funds of the Forfeited Estates. A charter of incorporation followed, and after an interval the Royal Edinburgh Asylum was fully established. Other asylums in different districts were reared subsequently. Latterly the proper treatment of the insane has been secured by a Parliamentary statute.[1]

Co-ordinate with the Church in upholding and maintaining the liberties of the people, the Royal Burghs have long been a centre of moral and intellectual activity. From burgesses at Edinburgh, Perth,

[1] For many of these particulars we are indebted to a privately printed Memorandum by Dr Arthur Mitchell, one of the Commissioners of the Board of Lunacy, who has obligingly communicated a copy for our use.

Dundee, Ayr and Stirling, and latterly at Glasgow, have sprung many persons who have filled positions of honour both in the Church and State. From traders at Edinburgh descend the notable families of Hope, Earls of Hopetoun, Dick of Prestonfield, Clerk of Penicuik, Inglis of Cramond and Fowlis of Ravelston. Yet it is to be remarked that with the advancement of a material prosperity civic independence retreated and fell short. During the seventeenth century, and though less conspicuously so, also in the eighteenth, neighbouring landowners, their visitors and even their grooms and other retainers were from time to time placed by Town Councils on their burgess rolls. When at Edinburgh, regiments were changed in the castle, burghal diploma-forms, kept in readiness, were filled up with the names of the officers and left at their quarters.

Deriving their privileges from kings, the burghs were necessarily loyal. When James VI. was in a financial extremity, which frequently happened, he appealed to the Town Council of Edinburgh, who upon proper security advanced the necessary funds. When at the Revolution all the burghs accepted the political change, many persons in the magistracy were more time-serving than cordial. The arbitrary measures of James VII. had generally repelled from his house every sentiment of loyalty, yet within

four months after the pious Renwick had suffered in the Grassmarket, we find the Town Council of Edinburgh ready to testify their strong attachment to the royal person. For on the 14th June 1688, the Town Council "in honour of the Queen's majestie's happie deliverie of the Prince and Steward of Scotland," whom they devoutly added "God long presarve," gave orders that "their great joy for so great a mercie to this kingdom" should be intimated by tuck of drum, so that "in the city and all the suburbs bonfires be kindled, bells be rung and cannon discharged." And while the Trained Bands were enjoined to turn out in their best apparel, each citizen was, under the penalty of one hundred merks, ordered to unite in the public rejoicing. Nor here did the Corporation pause, for at their meeting on the 6th July when the Lord Provost reported that by the Convention of Burghs he had been appointed to proceed to London to offer congratulations, it was agreed to defray his lordship's costs.

The landing of the Prince of Orange in the following November, and his assumption of the reins of government rendered imperative on the part of the Council some decisive action. On the 11th December they obtempered an order of the Privy Council by summoning Captain John Wallace, who occupied Holyroodhouse, to surrender his authority. And when, two weeks later, tidings of the King's flight, and the

arrival of the Prince of Orange at St James's indicated a safe line of policy, the Town Council, assembling on the 28th December, unanimously resolved to approach the Prince with these words of welcome: "We now see our fear of Popery and slaverie have been as just as they were great, and we are persuaded the Almightie God hath raised your Highnes to counteract the restles and malicious designes of Rome against this island. We cannot upon this occasion hide the satisfaction and joy wherewith our hearts are filled when wee heare dayly your Highnes expedition into Britaine (equally hazardous as it is generous) hath been hitherto prosperous without effusion of blood." "May," add the congratulators, "the Heavens crown all your glorious undertakings with constant success, as now they are sincerely attended with the prayers and acclamations of all good men." These were well-ordered words, and justified the expression of hope with which the address concludes that the "city and its privileges and the persons of its rulers and councillors might be under his Highness's protection."

Subscribed by every member of the corporation, the address to the Prince of Orange was entrusted to deputies, who for its presentation were expected to proceed to London. But difficulties supervened. The Lord Provost and Magistrates were ordered to publish the Prince's "Declaration," in which he

described the government of King James as despotic and arbitrary, especially in "hanging, shooting, and drowning innocent persons without fear of law or respect to age or sex." In the same manifesto the Prince also expressed his belief that the son, whose birth the Town Council had lately celebrated, was not a genuine product of the royal house. To sanction a "Declaration" of this sort, the Town Council felt, was a step which allowed no chance of receding should the Revolution government be ultimately overwhelmed. And as they hesitated, the younger citizens hoisted an orange banner, and with noisy demonstrations celebrated the dynastic change. Driven to extremity, the magistrates convened "a great council" of the citizens, less for consultation as to political affairs than to obtain general co-operation in the maintenance of order. Confident that their plan would divert attention from the main question, they prepared a minute, which, in anticipation of its being passed, the Depute Town Clerk thus notified on the margin of the Council Book: "Act of Council consenting to the resisting of the persones that resolve without authoritie of the Magistrates and Council to convocat in a hostile manner upon pretence to display his highness, the Prince of Orange his banner." As the Act did not pass, the page of the Register was left blank, the margin receiving these words of explanation: "The reason why

there wes no wryt in the scroll book wes becaus ther wes about this tyme great disorder in the city by tumults and robins of houses." This course of dissembling did not escape the notice of the Government, and consequently it was fixed that the commissioners to serve in the Convention summoned for the 14th March should be nominated by the burgesses and not by their representatives in the Council.

At Dundee, Jacobite sentiments prevailed strongly. From the "Justiciary Record" we learn that on the 10th June 1714, about seven weeks before the death of Queen Anne, three of the magistrates and William Lyon, younger of Ogill, the Town Clerk, had proceeded to the cross, and there drank the health of "King James the eight." Among them was a special offender, Bailie Laurence Oliphant, of the Perthshire family of Gask, who had ventured publicly to imprecate curses upon King George. Tried at the High Court of Justiciary on the 28th June 1715, all were convicted; and while each was subjected to imprisonment and declared incapable of holding any municipal office, Oliphant was amerced in 200 merks.[1]

[1] Laurence Oliphant was, on the 28th January 1697, indentured as apprentice to Robert Rankin, "skiper in Dundee for learning the mariner's calling." In the indenture it is stipulated that he was to "keep all holy ordinances," and further, that should he "commit fornication," he would be bound to extend his appren-

The enterprise of Prince Charles Edward in 1745 to recover the throne of his ancestors was somewhat less desperate than is commonly believed. For in the event of a further effort being made by the exiled house, several persons in authority throughout the country, and not a few of the Highland chiefs, had pledged themselves to support the cause with their substance and followers. That many in the hour of trial stood aloof, or joined the other side, was mainly owing to the patriotic efforts of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Lord President. Besides raising a number of companies on behalf of order, this patriotic Scotsman induced many of his landed neighbours to withdraw their sympathy from a cause of which the success implied the renewal of arbitrary government, and the failure, personal forfeiture and degradation. Through his well-directed efforts the Jacobite interests were deprived of the support of at least two thousand men. And with that loss was combined the lack of military and other important stores. Those who did join the Prince's standard were half-fed, besides being mainly without arms or other military accoutrements. So utterly wretched indeed were the Prince's followers, when on their southward march, sheltering in the fastnesses of

ticeship for three years "after committing the said fact."—"The Jacobite Lairds of Gask," by T. L. Kingston Oliphant, Esq. Grampian Club, 1870, 8vo, p, 9.

Corriaric, that had Sir John Cope with the royal troops waited their arrival at Perth, their discomfiture would have been easy and certain. But as Cope, with a stupidity difficult to realise, marched his troops northwards to Inverness, and so allowed the rebels to proceed to Perth unmolested, they were there provided with food and money through a contribution levied upon the inhabitants. Under the guidance of Lord George Murray, the Prince resumed his march, and crossing the Forth by the ford at Frew in the parish of Gargunnock, avoided a possible interruption by Colonel Gardiner's dragoons at Stirling Castle. After a five days' march from Perth, the rebel army, on the 16th September, reached the village of Corstorphine within four miles of Edinburgh. From thence the Prince requested the magistrates to admit him to the city as Regent for his father, King James the Eighth. From secret information, the Prince well knew that the city was open to him, and that by the authorities he would be welcomed. And here it is necessary slightly to retrace the progress of events. The Prince landed with seven followers at Kinloch-Moidart on the 19th July. To a communication from the Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary of State for Scotland, stating that the "Pretender's son had landed, or was about to land, in Scotland," Archibald Stewart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, replied on the

13th August that "the town was never better affected," and emphatically added that he and his brother magistrates would keep "a watchful eye" so as to conserve the peace. In token of loyalty, the Town Council, at the instance of the Provost, ten days later resolved to add "thirty centinells" to the city guard; they also authorised the High Constables to keep watch on all strangers who entered the place, and gave orders for the construction of a gunpowder magazine. Further, "to render abortive the attempts of those who are enemies to his majestie and our present happy constitution," they convened a meeting of the inhabitants. On the 7th September "an Address" was, on the Provost's motion, voted by the Council to the King, in which his Majesty was assured that "the city had always distinguished herself by a firm and steady attachment to Revolution and Whig principles, and a hearty abhorrence of all Popish and arbitrary governments." After a reference to the "zeal of the citizens in suppressing the Rebellion of 1715," the Council proceed: "We will stand by you and your royal family with our lives and fortunes to baffle the vain hopes of this rash adventurer who has been audacious enough to attempt to darken and disturb the tranquillity of your Majesty's happy Government." Two days subsequent to the despatch of "the Address," the Lord Provost and his fellow-councillors agreed to raise

and maintain a thousand men in defence of the government.

The dissimulation was intense. The bulk of the citizens were indeed faithful to the constitution, but Provost Stewart and a large majority of the Council were treacherous and false. Their sympathies lay wholly on the Jacobite side, which they determined resolutely to support. Hence every serious attempt to defend the city the Provost strenuously resisted. He was "loyal," he affirmed, but his loyalty consisted in seeking to outrage public sentiment, in insulting those who offered service to the Crown, and in casting contempt on every movement for maintaining the defence of the city. Powerful ordnance rested upon the walls, but Stewart would not permit the seamen from Leith Roads to prepare or use the guns. While on the 9th September he had publicly agreed to recruit a thousand men on behalf of the reigning house, he privately objected to their embodiment. He rejected the offer of volunteers to serve under his command; and when warned that the Trained Bands were in many of their members disaffected, he warmly acceded to their being called out and armed. When on the 16th September he received a message from the rebel camp at Corstorphine, he convened the Council and submitted a letter of Prince Charles Edward as a "summons from the Regent." On the

same day he presided at a meeting of the citizens, when he adroitly contrived to influence a decision whereby the Prince's approach was not to be resisted. While enacting this crooked policy, he rejected a proposition by the military authorities of the castle to spike the cannon on the walls, nor would he listen to proposals as to storing in the castle the contents of the city armory.

When on the 17th September the Highland army marched into the city, and the Prince, possessing himself of Holyrood Palace, issued therefrom proclamations and mandates, the Provost gave forth that the municipal election fixed to take place on the following day might not be safely proceeded with. The object of this new movement was, by a surrender of magisterial authority, to leave the city under the government of the Prince with his Highland soldiery; also, in the event of a collapse of the new administration, to avoid being personally brought to trial for malversation and treachery.

Provost Stewart was persistent, for when on the 1st October an effort was put forth by the well-affected minority of the Council to proceed with the election, he succeeded in inducing a portion of the magistrates to absent themselves, and many other persons to decline the acceptance of municipal offices. The consequences of his procedure were sufficiently

serious. The efforts of the Lord President Forbes to check the rebellion at its inception were all but negatived. The Prince's followers who had entered the city, generally without armour other than bows and scythes and hedge-blades, were now equipped with the twelve hundred stand of armour snatched from the municipal armory, while many loyal citizens were compelled to surrender their weapons. The gunpowder magazine, formed for defence of existing order, was also appropriated by the invaders. By means of the weapons and ammunition so provided to them, the rebels obtained an easy victory over Cope at Prestonpans. The success, indeed, which attended the Jacobite cause from the 16th September 1745 till its overthrow at Culloden on the 16th April 1746 was wholly due to municipal tergiversation.

The Town Council of Edinburgh by refusing, on the counsel of Provost Stewart, to proceed with the annual election in 1745, suppressed its legal existence. In the municipal records there is a hiatus from the 1st October 1745 till the 3rd of January 1747. Prior to the latter date, the several elective bodies were authorised by the Privy Council to form a new Corporation and re-establish the magisterial offices. Among its early acts the new Council framed an address to the King denunciatory of the late "infamous rebellion," and congratulating his Majesty on its suppression, while to the Duke of York

they voted the freedom of the city "in testimony of their grateful sense of his glorious services in happily crushing the late detestable rebellion."

The conduct of Provost Stewart might not be overlooked. He was apprehended, and after being imprisoned fourteen months was liberated on finding bail for £5000.[1] Indicted at the instance of the Lord Advocate in the High Court of Justiciary, he was charged "with neglect of duty and misbehaviour in office." After a prolonged discussion on its relevancy the indictment was submitted to a jury on the 27th October 1747, and the trial continued four days. At the outset it had been contemplated to continue the sittings according to practice without adjournment, save for meals, and as the trial actually lasted ninety-four hours, the result might have been fatal to the court. After a sitting of forty hours, an adjournment for sleep was permitted with "consent of parties." Ultimately the jury, by their chancellor Sir Alexander Nesbit of Dean, "found the pannel not guilty," a benevolent conclusion in direct contravention of the recorded evidence. Respecting the Provost's refusal to allow the sailors of the Royal Navy at Leith to manage the city artillery, Bailie James Stewart testified that when the proposal was made to him, the Provost "fell into some heat of

[1] In his "History of the Rebellion of 1745-6," Dr Robert Chambers describes the bail as £15,000. This is an error.

temper," and said "By God, while I am Provost of Edinburgh, sailors shall not be admitted;" and on further remonstrance re-expressed his determination. At the same time, he objected to the use of cannon on the ground that the city "had not anybody who knew how to manage them." [1]

Burghal tergiversation or self-seeking was not confined to the age of Jacobitism. When in 1762, Mr George Dempster of Dunnichen was elected Parliamentary representative of the Fife and Forfar burghs, the election was set aside owing to the bribery of Town Councillors having been proved against the candidate. Mr Dempster informed the writer's father that a Town Councillor at St Andrews, had accepted money both from himself and from his opponent.

The burgh of Stirling was in 1775 disfranchised for corrupt practices. Three members of Council including the Provost had entered into a bond "to secure the total management of the burgh during their lives." For that purpose they became mutually bound to introduce into the Council only such persons "as came under engagement to support their joint interests," also to effect the exclusion from the Council of one Nicol Bryce, whose interference they repelled.

[1] The proceedings of the trial are accurately set forth in a volume now rare, entitled "The Trial of Archibald Stewart Esq., late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland." Edin., 1747, 8vo, pp. 203.

All offices connected with the burgh and the public charities were as they fell vacant to be in rotation filled by their relatives or friends. The sum of £25 yearly paid by the junior Town-Clerk for their voting him into office, was to be divided among them in equal shares. And when occurred a Parliamentary election, the bribes handed them by opposing candidates were to be fairly apportioned. In conclusion the engagers agreed that to render "their management acceptable to the whole inhabitants" they would as patrons of the burgh churches appoint "*evangelical ministers* as preachers to the several cures." A copy of this extraordinary instrument having been found in the repositories of an engager subsequent to his decease, was brought under the cognisance of the law. By the Court of Session, the compact was pronounced as "illegal, unwarrantable and *contra bonos mores*," those concerned in it were reprimanded; the two preceding elections of councillors were reduced, and the burghal privileges withdrawn. On an appeal the House of Lords confirmed the decision of the inferior court, and for six years the burgh of Stirling was disfranchised.

The Guildry or company of merchants were usually consulted in the appointment of freemen and they otherwise exercised a municipal authority. They annually elected a chairman or Dean and a body of assessors as his council or Court. By the Dean

of Guild were regulated weights and measures, also the construction of buildings, while burgesses were protected by him from the intrusion of interlopers. At Stirling the Dean of Guild formerly held a municipal rank higher than that of the chief magistrate.

The "Incorporated Trades" formerly exercised an important jurisdiction. In the larger burghs the *Trades* formed from ten to fourteen separate bodies, each governing the affairs of its own craft. By each was elected a president or deacon, while the deacons of the united trades together formed a convention, of whom the chairman was known as the Deacon Convener. By this convention or committee, the general concerns of the crafts were regulated or supervised.

Narrow views of trading were common. In 1485 the municipal authorities of Edinburgh ruled that no merchant of the city should take into partnership an inhabitant of Leith under a penalty of forty shillings, also in being for a year deprived of his civic freedom. Provincial burghs repelled new settlers by a variety of expedients; they personally dissuaded them from perilous risks, imposed upon them heavy exactions, and allowed idle rumours respecting them to spread and dominate. Nor were strangers only obnoxious. If a brother craftsman became inventive, and sought by machinery to lessen manual labour, he was held as a common enemy. When

at Edinburgh in 1727 William Ged produced his invention of stereotyping or block-printing, he was so assailed by the letterpress printers that he was compelled, for personal safety, to quit the place. To London, whither he repaired, his opponents followed him with rumours that he had conspired the destruction of their craft. Returning to Edinburgh, as the best means of allaying prejudices which at a distance might not be overborne, Ged experienced a renewal of the former oppression, which no reasoning on his part might subdue or modify. He died in 1729, the victim of a trade which has largely profited by his skill. When in 1757 the hammer trade at Glasgow sought to suppress, as an inventor, the celebrated James Watt, he obtained harbour and employment within the walls of the College.

The possession of corporate privileges conferred the right to exercise a particular craft, but beyond this no other immunity or privilege. Accepted craftsmen had severally to meet the usual imposts. And the hours of labour were unlimited. In 1587 John Thomson, drummer of the Canongate, found security to "pass thro' the burgh wi' his drum at four houris in the morning and aucht at e'en." And on the 4th October 1761 the town drummer of Elgin made pledge to arouse the inhabitants at four A.M., and at nine P.M. to summon them to rest.

Merchants' booths and craftsmen's workshops were

small and rude. A century ago the ordinary craftsman worked in a dingy and ill-ventilated slum. Traders of the period occupied long arched passages, which were preserved from damp by perpetual fires. Many traders preferred the salubrity of the public street, and served their customers from covered platforms.

Municipal exclusiveness was not universal. A class of traders, known as Dusty-feet, were allowed to traffic at fairs; also during the summer months running from Ascension Day to Lammas. Latterly the privilege was extended, and small dealers prosecuted trade in the different burghs all the year round.

Itinerant vendors were a century ago common alike in the capital and in the rural burghs. They prosecuted their vocation from morn till twilight. In the opening line of "Tam o' Shanter" Burns refers to the late evening hour,

"Whan chapman billies leave the street."

One of the merrymakers in James I.'s ballad of "Peblis to the Play" is "the cadger on the mercat gait," who is described as "tumbling the creels" from the back of his "great grey meir." By James I. chapmen (cheap-men) were specially favoured; he appointed games for their amusement in the valley of Stirling Rock; also on the green at Leslie in Fifeshire.

Chapmen of the lowland counties assembled annually on the second Tuesday of July at the village of Prestonpans, where they elected a president and other officers of guild. Of these were six bailies, who, each in his district, held courts, and by whose decisions in all trading concerns the members pledged themselves to abide. Fines were added to a common fund for the benefit of widows.

Chapmen of a higher grade used pack-horses; those in humbler rank were by walking on foot known as pedlars. The mounted chapman, on attaining adequate substance, dispensed with locomotion, and established a mercantile store in some commercial centre. By his deputies he collected from his customers weekly payments; and at fairs periodically disposed of his surplus stock. By itinerant trading have been founded many of the great commercial houses which on the Clyde, the Forth, and the Tay receive shipments from every port. John Cowan or Colquhoun, a successful chapman, and ultimately a prosperous wool stapler at Stirling, died in 1634, bequeathing to the Guildry of that place a portion of money for behoof of decayed burgesses and their families. His bequest, invested in an estate of 800 acres, yields a revenue of £3000.

By conveying to rural districts the intelligence obtained in commercial centres, chapmen became the earlier newsmen; they also bore as a portion of

their stock the Glasgow and Falkirk chap-books, consisting of ballads and entertaining tales.

From among the chapmen arose the earlier bankers. Transacting business for the country people, they were at length entrusted with their savings, for which they paid *mail* or rent. The earliest notices of banking transactions occur in Halyburton's "Ledger." Both as "conservator" and on his own personal account he negotiated bills; he also facilitated the transmission of money to Rome in discharge of bulls and dispensations. At length Scottish craftsmen who dealt in the precious metals established themselves as money-lenders and dealers in exchange. Of these the most notable was George Heriot. As the convenience of the banking system was generally recognised, banking corporations were instituted. In 1694 the Bank of England was established by William Paterson, a Scotsman, while the Bank of Scotland was in the year following founded by John Holland, a native of England. The original capital of the Bank of Scotland was £1,200,000 Scots, or £100,000 sterling, which was raised in shares. In 1696 the Bank erected branches, issued one pound notes in 1704, and in 1729 received deposits on interest. The Royal Bank was established in 1727, with a capital of £151,000 sterling. The British Linen Company, which in 1746 started with the view of encouraging the linen trade, gradually adopted the business of

banking. The other Scottish Banking Houses arose subsequently. County and District Banks have seldom prospered. Several of the more considerable Banking Companies, notably the Western Bank in 1858, and the City of Glasgow Bank at a date considerably more recent, have collapsed to the general embarrassment of the shareholders. But in no instance have depositors in Scottish Banks sustained loss or damage.

Till the middle of the fourteenth century the pound sterling and the pound Scots were equal in value, each being actually one pound of silver. In 1366 the pound of silver was worth twenty-five shillings in both countries, but in 1373 the Scottish currency was reduced to three-fourths of that of England. At the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, the pound of silver in England was coined into £3, and in Scotland into £9, 12s. In Scotland it increased in 1562 to £15, 15s., while in England the value remained stationary. In 1565 the pound weight of silver was £3 sterling in tale, and £18 in Scottish money. By Keith we are informed that in 1570 a pound Scots was seven times more valuable than when in 1734 he composed his History. And it is estimated that in purchasing the necessaries of life, the pound Scots of 1570 would be at least sixteen times more valuable than at the present time.

Taking into account the difference in the value of

money, John Knox's stipend of 400 merks as minister of Edinburgh was equal in present money value to £700 or £800 sterling money.[1]

Upon feudal government was founded the municipal, with this difference, that while the lord of regality might within his jurisdiction follow arbitrary and despotic courses, the chief of the municipality was responsible both to the sovereign and to his co-burgesses. The Provost though ostensibly the municipal chief (the mayor of Belfast, a Scottish settlement, was usually styled "the sovereign") was practically under the guidance of the Town Clerk, an official who held a life office, in order to his greater independence. But the security of the tenure and the considerable emoluments attached to the office not infrequently led to its being conferred on the highest bidder. In 1502 the Town Clerkship of Aberdeen was purchased for forty merks, while the actual salary annexed to it irrespective of fees was twelve merks only. And as the purchaser was not personally qualified to exercise the clerkly functions, he discharged his duties by deputy. Acquired without qualification, the office was nevertheless retained by members of the same family for

[1] See an elaborate and valuable paper entitled "Provision for the Ministry after the Reformation," in Dr John Lee's "Lectures on the Church of Scotland," Edin., 1860, 8vo, vol. ii. pp. 349-362.

several generations. When in 1745, Provost Archibald Stewart and his abettors abnegated their magisterial functions, and so suspended the municipal continuity, the Town Clerk of Edinburgh registered an emphatic protest that his emoluments should not be interfered with, inasmuch that for his appointment he had paid heavily. The office of Burgh Treasurer or Chamberlain was financially unimportant. The Treasurer's office at Stirling about the middle of the seventeenth century was held by a shoemaker, who could not write; he kept the accounts in a pair of boots. In 1694, Provost Anderson of Glasgow discharged duty as City Chamberlain, rewarded by the small salary of fifteen pounds sterling.

When royal burghs were founded upon ancient constabularies, the castle was adopted as the civic court-house, while the office of constable generally merged into that of sheriff or provost or bailie. The bailie derived his appellative from the Latin *ballium*, a stronghold. Till the latter part of the seventeenth century, those who were chosen by the Guildry as burgesses were presented to the Magistrates and Council for admission "sufficientlie airmit with ane furnisht corslet or hagbut," which weapons were kept in readiness for the occasion. The ceremonial pointed to an ancient usage, when those invested with burghal honours were held competent to use arms in defence of the place. Rural burghs, which had acquired

recognition as centres of trade, initiated burgesses by simpler rites. The burgh of Selkirk, formerly a place of shoemaking, caused each burgess on admission to lick a *birse* or bristle previously mouthed by each member of the corporation. Admission to ordinary burghal privileges was at Edinburgh, Dundee, and other towns specially guarded; the registers which contained the names of those admitted was "a lokkit buik, to be opened but in the tolbuith before the Provost, Bailies, and Council." At Dundee, in 1611, a burgess's fee was £40; the payment was increased to one hundred merks.

Every burgh has its common seal. In burghs originally associated with strongholds was represented as a principal charge in its escutcheon a tower or fort. Triple towers or castles appear on the seals of Edinburgh and Ayr; single towers on those of Stirling and Dunfermline. Sea-board towns deriving their existence from trade by sea have their origin denoted by their insignia. Thus in their armorial charges the towns of Crail and Anstruther-Wester severally exhibit a galley voyaging by star-light and a group of fishes. The burgh seal of St Andrews has the apostle Andrew on his cross, with the representation of a boar in a forest or wood, in symbolical allusion to the early history of the place. Of Aberdeen, the common seal has an ecclesiastical reference; it represents Saint Nicholas standing at the porch of his

church. By the emblems of a tree, a bird, a bell, and a fish, the city of Glasgow on its common seal points to the period when the site was a forest and a fishing station, and when the early inhabitants were summoned to worship by the bell of St Mungo.

Along with a triple castle are in the civic seal of Edinburgh represented a sword and a mace. On the 8th May 1627 Charles I. expressed his command that "a sword, with a red and blak goun," should be purchased for the Provost of Edinburgh.[1] A sword-bearer formerly preceded the magistrates of the capital when in their judicial capacity they took their seats in the Burgh Court.

When the fort which constituted the original head-quarters of municipal business became a ruin, or where had existed no constabulary or stronghold, the burgesses reared civic muster-places. Styled the *Tolbooth*, that is, the *booth* in which the burgh *toll* or cess was collected, the structure included a burghal prison. With its grated windows, the prison occupied the lower floor, though occasionally the upper rooms were also used as a place of detention. On the second floor, or in the central rooms, were accommodated the Town Council, the Town Clerk, and the cess collector. The *New Tolbooth* of Edinburgh, reared by the citizens in 1561, stood on the west side of St Giles' Church, to which it was attached.

[1] "The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters," i. 125.

Within its Laigh Hall, a spacious apartment with oak-panelled walls and an elaborately decorated ceiling, Parliaments were held, also the General Assembly. In the structure were also accommodated the Courts of Justice; there were likewise a common and a debtors' prison. In 1639, when a new Parliament House was built, the Tolbooth ceased to accommodate the Legislature, while subsequent to the Union in 1707 the Court of Session removed from it to the Parliament House. But the New Tolbooth, as it was called, continued to be used as a prison and for municipal offices till the year 1817, when the structure was taken down. As the "Heart of Midlothian," the genius of Sir Walter Scott has associated with it an interesting romance.

In rural burghs an open space at or near the Tolbooth was used for the weekly market of agricultural and dairy produce. On the supplies weekly offered in the market-place (which included oatmeal, pease, poultry, eggs, cheese, and butter) were the inhabitants dependent for their ordinary provision. And when the supplies were not forthcoming, destitution impended. In the year 1720, owing to a rise in the foreign market, and increased facilities of export, tenant-farmers and millers in eastern Fifeshire withheld their produce from the local markets, with the result that the townspeople were subjected to actual want. When the evil had reached a height, James

Duncan, shoemaker at Anstruther, sword in hand, called on his able-bodied neighbours to follow him. With these he proceeded forcibly to seize that food which was essential to subsistence. His first seizure took place at the mill of Stravithie, in the parish of Dunino, six miles north of Anstruther. Entering the mill, and seizing twenty-four loads of meal, he also appropriated the miller's horses and the horses of the neighbouring farmers to bear off the supplies. Other adventurous burgesses followed Duncan's example. With bands of followers they entered granaries and ships'-holds, removing therefrom grain and flour. The usual prices were tendered, and, it is to be assumed, accepted, since rioting was the only charge ever preferred against the seizers. But these lawless acts could not be overlooked, since "a contagion of revolt" might have accompanied designs less worthy. Indictments were served upon the leaders, and by order of the Justiciary Court a special assize was held at Cupar, the county town of Fife. At this assize the seizers were generally dismissed on verdicts of "not proven." Duncan was convicted of appropriating meal at Stravithie, but sentence was permanently "deferred." No punishment, not even a judicial rebuke," could with any propriety be inflicted. By his promptitude and enterprise the prisoner had rescued a community from perishing for actual want, for it was shown that

on the market-day preceding his exploit one boll of oatmeal and one boll of pease were all which could be obtained as food for several hundred families.[1]

At Edinburgh dairy and other farm produce were sold at an open space known as *the Tron*. There by an instrument of that name, and consisting of two horizontal bars attached to a wooden pillar, articles were weighed. In country towns weighing apparatus were usually erected in a shed or enclosure adjoining the Tolbooth.

Originally held on saints' days, and within the courts of cathedrals, in churchyards, and in monastic alleys, public fairs came to be associated with ecclesiastical arrangements. As the cathedral spire or the turrets of the monastery directed the stranger to the district market-place, so when fairs were transferred to burghs a stone cross of an ecclesiastical pattern was erected at a central point or open space, partly to denote the new use, but also to commemorate the time when commerce was mainly prosecuted by those associated with religion.

The Senzie Fair at St Andrews was held within the enclosures of the Priory; it continued three weeks, the articles of merchandise being provided by one hundred vessels which from different countries landed in the harbour. During the fourteenth century a fair was annually held at Dundee, lasting

[1] Books of Adjournal, Justiciary Court.

eight days; the merchandise consisted chiefly of fish brought in numerous vessels from Aberdeen and other fishing stations on the coast.

In 1564 the Privy Council confirmed the statute of James IV. prohibiting the holding of markets on holy days and in churches and churchyards; while in 1569 Sunday marketing was forbidden on the authority of the Regent. To prevent Sunday trading in the flesh-market the Town Council of Glasgow in 1574 instructed one of the bailies to seize flesh exposed for sale on Sundays after nine A.M., and to confiscate the same for the use of the poor. In 1590 Sunday marketing at Edinburgh was prohibited by the General Assembly. A Sunday fair at the abbey of Cambuskenneth,—the articles sold being fruit and vegetables,—was carried on till within the last thirty years.

A chief duty of burgh magistrates was the maintenance of order. By each burghal corporation were employed one or two civic officers, who waited upon the magistrates, bore the halberts before them on state occasions, and fenced and regulated their courts. In earlier times the protection of Edinburgh was undertaken by the Incorporated Trades, who, as their rallying point, displayed a great banner anciently consecrated to their use. In place of the older standard a new banner, known as the Blue Blanket, was granted them by James III. in 1482, on account

of the assistance rendered him by the citizens when at the instance of the nobles he was suffering restraint in the castle. The Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh assembled under the "Blue Blanket" on many occasions of civic strife, notably when Queen Mary, subsequent to her surrender at Carberry Hill in June 1569, was subjected to the insult of the populace.

But the craftsmen of the capital were found unequal to the systematic maintenance of order, and on occasions of public disturbance it became necessary to employ soldiers from the castle. Under a Privy Council order, the Town Council on the 6th September 1611 constituted as constables a number of able-bodied citizens. The appointment was approved by Parliament, and in an Act passed on the 28th June 1617 it was ruled that in all royal burghs constables should be chosen by the magistrates at elections to be held twice a year. Half-yearly elections being found inconvenient, an annual election of constables was instituted at Edinburgh in October 1626; and with some intervals it has been continued. The body so elected has long been known as the High Constables, probably to distinguish them from the salaried conservators of the peace. Since 1651 the records of the High Constables have been preserved. The president is styled "Moderator," and business is transacted by a council. By the Town Council of 1728 the High

Constables were enjoined to arrest and punish blasphemous drunkards and Sabbath-breakers. When at Michaelmas 1745 the Magistrates abdicated their functions by refusing to proceed with the annual elections, the High Constables were by warrant from the Lords of Justiciary appointed to attend to the maintenance of order. Till the restoration of the municipal privileges in 1747 the Moderator of the High Constables discharged the duties of Chief Magistrate.[1]

After the battle of Flodden in 1513, the Town Council of Edinburgh enjoined the inhabitants to unite in the common defence, every fourth man taking duty in night-watching. A special guard of twenty-four men was also constituted. The Edinburgh Trained Bands were first appointed in 1626, when the Town Council determined that the citizens should be mustered, and divided into eight companies, each to contain 200 men. In 1627 the merchants, the craftsmen, and the city youths were severally embodied. The Trained Bands, under a captain-commandant, assembled yearly on the king's birthday, but were also understood always to be at the call of the Lord Provost, their honorary colonel. During the eighteenth century they were popularly known as the "Yellow Colours."

[1] See "Sketch of the History of the High Constables of Edinburgh," by James D. Marwick, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Edin., 1865, 4to.

The system of "watching and warding" at Edinburgh, which began in 1513, at length proved irksome. Accordingly in 1648 the Town Council appointed a corps of sixty, under a Captain and two Lieutenants, to discharge duty as watchers. After several changes the *Town Guard,* as it was called, was, in 1682, at the suggestion of the Duke of York, increased to 108 men and officers. Other changes supervened till early in the eighteenth century, a corps of two hundred were employed.

While in a high state of efficiency the Edinburgh City Guard obtained an unhappy notoriety. In 1736 the commander, Captain John Porteous, having failed to quell some disturbance at the execution of one Wilson, a smuggler, rashly ordered the Guard to fire upon the crowd. The command was obeyed, and six persons fell mortally wounded, while eleven others, including several women, were seriously injured. At an assize Captain Porteous was convicted of murder, but he was reprieved by Queen Caroline, who acted as regent in the absence of George II., at Hanover. The citizens of Edinburgh, who had viewed Wilson's rigorous punishment with displeasure, were exasperated at the escape of one who had recklessly sacrificed human life. Congregating in large numbers they deforced the Town Guard, and burning the door of the Tolbooth prison, seized Porteous, and dragging him to the Grass-

market, there hanged him on a pole. In avenging this act of popular violence, Government thrust the Lord Provost into prison, disbanded the Town Guard, and amerced the city in £2000 as a provision for Porteous's widow.

The Town Guard is humorously celebrated by Robert Fergusson. They had a guard-room in the High Street, into the *black hole* of which they confined those who disturbed public tranquillity. Their imposing uniform attracted strangers. Each guardsman wore a red coat turned up with blue, a red waistcoat, red breeches, long black gaiters, white belts, and a cocked hat. They were severally armed with a musket or a Lochaber axe. In 1803 the three companies, of which the corps consisted, were reduced, and in their stead appointed an unarmed police force. Of the old force, thirty members were retained as a guard of honour to the Provost; these in November 1817 were disbanded.

In some of the rural burghs the duty of "watching and warding" was continued till a recent period. When in the spring of 1855 the writer established his residence at Stirling, he was waited upon by a burghal official with an intimation that it was his turn to "watch and ward" during the two following nights. When the order was complained of, the official, surprised at the remonstrance, exclaimed—"It's juist a peyment o' twa shillings; ilka substitute

gets a shillin' a nicht." It may be added that in those times shop-breaking was common.

Burgh magistrates might repress crime by exercising a summary jurisdiction. Each burgh maintained an executioner, by whose hand were inflicted all degrees of corporal punishment. Those who cheated in the market were "jagged," that is, borne by the executioner to the cross, and thereto by the neck made fast with "a jagg" or iron collar. Besides being disgraceful, this punishment was attended with singular discomfort, since the staple was affixed at such a distance from the ground that the offender could neither stand nor sit, nor even comfortably lean. Jagging, which was primarily applied to fraudulent traders, became an ordinary municipal punishment, while at the Reformation a jagg was attached to the walls of churches, to be used in the degradation of those who contemned ecclesiastical authority. About the year 1750 the justices at Marykirk sentenced to the jagg several persons who had been riotous at the village fair. In 1785 a shopkeeper's assistant at Haddington was, by order of the magistrates, jagged at the cross for stealing whisky; and in the same year a farmer convicted of chicanery was jagged at Stirling. The Stirling jagg has been preserved; it encloses both neck and wrists. Edinburgh delinquents were jagged "at the Tron."

By an Act passed on the 2d October 1559 the Town Council of Dundee ordained that those guilty of a relapse in fornication should "stand three hours in the gyves [fetters] and be thrice doukit in the sea." On the 22d May 1562 the Town Council of Edinburgh, to effectually punish fornication, appointed their treasurer and three of the citizens to "red and dres the dowkeing hole in the North Loch," also "to repair the pullis" [pulleys]. The same Town Council, on the 6th November following, requested the magistrates to put "adulterars and fornicatours fast in the irnehouse, thair to be fed be the space of ane moneth with breid and water allanerlie" [only]; further, that those convicted a second time, "baith the man and the woman be skurgeit at the cairt ers and banist the town." The Town Council of Dundee, on the 6th October 1564, ordained that every woman chargeable with impurity "sall be brocht to the market croce, there her hair to be cuttit aff and nailit upon the cuckstule." Any woman who relapsed in fornication, the Council decreed should be deprived of her hair, and thereafter "carryit in ane carte throw all the pairts of the town at her own cost."[1]

While scourging and ducking and other municipal punishments were inflicted by the executioner, civic

[1] "History of Old Dundee," by Alexander Maxwell, Edin., 1884, 8vo, pp. 82-3.

authorities authorized the burgesses to exercise discipline within their own dwellings. On the 2d October 1581 the Town Council of Dundee, to check the practice of blasphemy, enacted that every burgess should have "ane buist or box hung above his buird, with ane puline hung thereat, for correcting of banners and swearers in their own houses."[1]

During the eighteenth century few rural traders or their customers were skilled in arithmetic. For every customer and each article of merchandise, the dealer used a notch-stick, and in supplying any particular article to a customer he made on the stick a small notch, which counted for a delivery. When on the stick had been made twenty or thirty notches a settlement was expected, when a new stick was procured. Each family had its own notch-stick.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the opulent traders of Edinburgh and Glasgow began to imitate their professional neighbours in personal demeanour The fashionable street costume of Edinburgh in 1784, or one hundred years ago, may be described. Under a cocked hat was displayed a wig, richly powdered. The face was shaved closely—only a very small whisker being allowed. At the breast were displayed cambric ruffles, dexterously plaited; these were also exhibited at the

[1] "History of Old Dundee," by Alexander Maxwell, Edin., 1884, p. 81.

wrists. A yellow-striped vest rested on buckskin breeches, secured at the knees by buttons, and there met by boots with detached leathern "tops." Shoes, when worn, were accompanied with silk stockings, also silver buckles adorned with gems. In walking out, each fashionable citizen raised before him a long staff, mounted with silver or gold. In the top of his staff the physician got inserted a box of perfume; this he delicately sniffed on entering and also in leaving a sick-chamber.

A costume so exquisitely arranged implied considerable state and a liberal expenditure. A century ago Edinburgh clothiers speedily became rich, while hair dealers and wig-makers greatly prospered. Many persons employed themselves as "gentlemen's servants;" and from the Edinburgh registers, the order would seem to have been especially numerous from the middle of the last century onwards to its close. A considerable proportion of the class were well educated, and amply qualified to attend to domestic arrangements both as butlers and clerks. By the Lords of Session, the Professors, the city clergy, and some of the more opulent merchants, "serving men" were statedly maintained. John Hay, the personal attendant of the Lord President Forbes, was an expert caligrapher, and occasionally aided his employer in his considerable correspondence. Several of Hay's letters have been preserved by

descendants of the family of Culloden, and by them have been rendered available to the present writer. During the President's last illness, Hay evinced a most affectionate solicitude, and ungrudgingly rendered attendance both day and night. To the family from time to time he reported the condition of their honoured relative. In a letter to the President's widowed sister, Mrs Ross of Kindeace, dated 3d December 1747, he writes :—

"I am sorry to acquaint you that my dear Lord and Master has been very ill since I wrote you last, and continues so still. God grant my next may give you better comfort . . . . I am writting this in my Lord's bed chamber while he is now slumbering. I have not hade my cloaths off since the 4th of the last month. If my life would borrow his it would be good for Scotland."

When a few days afterwards the President breathed his last, Hay communicated the sad intelligence to Mrs Ross in these words :—

"Edin., 10th December 1747.

"Madam,—The ever to be lamented my dear master, Lord President dyed this morning at eight of the clock, and is to be interred in S^{r} David Forbes tomb and in his dear brother's ground. I have not words to express the greif that is among all the people here on acco^{t} of his death, and as for my self I believe I shall soon follow him. The young Square arrived here on Sunday last. I can write no more for grief but ever am the Family of Culodens and your affect. Servant. JOHN HAY."

Such retainers as Hay were under no circumstances dispensed with ; each became as a family attaché and was led to feel that with his employer were bound up

his interests, his privileges and his hopes. Of their sons one or more were educated at the Universities, and were afterwards helped into factorships, or farms, or livings in the Church.

At Edinburgh the requisite employment of "serving men" was experienced as no inconsiderable incubus by those whose position implied, yet whose circumstances did not warrant such a costly attendance. Captain Matthew Henderson of Tunnochside, whose social worth has been commemorated by Burns, was one of those persons of quality, who, residing in the capital, felt that it was essential to employ a liveried servant. He died on the 21st November 1788, and among other liabilities in excess of his estate, he was found due to his man-servant the wages of the year, with considerable arrears.[1]

Ordinary serving men waited in the hall, delivered messages, served at table, and when any of the family went out to supper, guarded their way homeward.

Those persons who desired to maintain a genteel rank, yet who might not employ a liveried retainer, arranged to receive every morning a visit from a hairdresser. Robert Heron, the historical writer whose misfortunes and sad fate will be detailed subsequently, had while he sojourned at Edinburgh the daily services of a hairdresser. On the 10th August 1790,

[1] Edinburgh Commissariot Register, Testaments, vol. 128.

he in his Diary thus complacently expresses himself, "As my barber did not come, I, without fretting or blustering, dressed in the best way I could." [1]

While at Edinburgh a century ago, members of the upper circles and opulent citizens employed male attendants or toilet men, ordinary burgesses and strangers obtained occasional service from an intelligent body of men known as *caddies*. These persons lingered at the Cross, at the Tron, at the doors of taverns and at street corners, and could be readily summoned by a sharp whistle or a "halloo." The caddy was ready for every species of service. Familiar with streets and alleys and courts, he was skilful as a conductor, and was as a messenger expert and intelligent. By Captain Burt, the caddy is facetiously described as "a very useful blackguard, who attend the coffee-houses and public places to go errands;" he adds, "and though they are wretches, that in rags lye upon the stairs, and in the streets at night, yet are they often considerably trusted and . . . have seldom or never proved unfaithful." This description is supplemented in 1774 by Major Topham, who writes: "There are a Society of men who constantly attend the Cross in the High Street, and whose office it is to do anything that anybody can want, and discharge any kind of

[1] Heron's MSS. forming part of the Laing MSS. in the Edinburgh University Library.

business. On this account it is necessary for them to make themselves acquainted with the residence and negotiation of all the inhabitants; and they are of great utility, as without them it would be very difficult to find anybody, on account of the great height of the houses, and the number of families in every building."

Caddies who ranked a degree higher than those who lingered about the streets, were employed as "chairmen;" they carried sedan-chairs, the long handles of which were attached to their shoulders by leathern bands. Sedan-chairs were used by gentlewomen in being conveyed to and from evening parties. Their use was confined to the capital. In Glasgow and other towns gentlewomen proceeded to evening parties on foot, muffled in shawls and plaids, and attended by bare-footed hand-maidens. In like fashion they returned home.

In his work, "De Jure Regni," George Buchanan contrasts the refinement of his own times with the barbarism of a past age. Yet the refinement of the sixteenth century was nearly of the lowest type. Even a century later controversialists attacked each other with coarse and bitter words, while discourses, both public and social were interpersed with vulgarities.

The eighteenth century showed a considerable advance. Referring to the year 1700, Dr Alexander

Carlyle, remarks in his "Autobiography" that the vernacular was in refined circles losing its hold. In his "Journey," published in 1773, Dr Samuel Johnson writes: "The conversation of the Scots grows every day less unpleasing to the English; their peculiarities wear fast away; their dialect is likely to become in half a century provincial and rustic even to themselves. The great, the learned and the ambitious, and the vain all cultivate the English phrase, and the English pronunciation, and in splendid companies Scotch is not much heard, except now and then from an old lady."

With respect to forms of speech northern culture has continued to make an even and steady progress. Writing about forty years ago, Lord Cockburn contrasted the generally prevailing use of the English idiom with the modes of talk which had obtained in his early manhood. When in the closing decade of the century he attended the Edinburgh High School, "no Englishman," he writes, "could have addressed the city populace, without making them stare, or probably laugh."[1] In general conversation, the use of Scottish phrases has all but ceased, and provincial dialects are, than twenty years ago, less to be remarked. Yet there obtains, though not universally, a ruggedness of manner which may not favourably impress the southern visitor. As he

[1] Journal of Henry Cockburn, Edinb., 1874, 8vo, ii. 89.

meets an acquaintance the untravelled Scotsman at once descants upon the weather, while to the Englishman's salutation of "good morning," he responds by an ungracious *umph.* With increased means of travel, and an improved scholastic system, will no doubt disappear uncultured modes, while genial utterances will be discovered as not in any degree implying a surrender of that sturdy independence, which is unquestionably the best characteristic of national greatness.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh in 1385 did not exceed 2000. They were in 1741, 50,000, and in 1801 upwards of 60,000. By the census of 1881 the population was 230,000. During the fourteenth century the city presented a meagre line of houses occupying that ridge which extends between the castle and Holyrood abbey. Now the city covers an area of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length by 2 miles in breadth. Yet it is most painful to learn from statistics that one third of the inhabitants occupy dwellings of only one apartment, while only 19 per cent. possess habitations which contain more than four rooms. Of the wealthier city of Glasgow the domiciliary condition is even less favourable, for while only 8 per cent. of the citizens are accommodated in dwellings of more than four rooms, 41 per cent. are lodged in houses of one apartment.

Such an abnormal state cannot be lasting. De-

terrents to social amelioration are being stoutly overcome; the flood of intemperance is assuaged, and the dust of the snuff-mull no longer taints the peasant's board or impairs the preacher's voice. As self-indulgence is repressed, philanthropy takes root. The proper lodgment of the people, long the theme of the social reformer, has at length awakened the echoes of the senate-house. No question is of an importance more real and vital if the race is to gain that higher civilization, of which the ultimate attainment is at once the poet's vision and the patriot's hope.

CHAPTER IX.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

Ere the discovery of the metals, Caledonian chiefs wore ornaments formed of sea-shell, flint, and stone. Necklaces were formed of the perforated shells of the limpet, cockle, and oyster, which were strung together with a sinew or vegetable fibre. Ossian's heroes used cups of gem-studded shells. Perforated discs and plates of slate and flint were in primeval games used as table-men. Horse collars of trap and granite have been found in Aberdeenshire.[1] In the circles and weems are to be picked up fragments of pottery, including portions of Samian ware. Gold and silver torcs were worn by the Scots and Picts, and the specimens of those preserved in the Scottish National Museum are certainly of native metal. As gold could be wrought without smelting or moulding, it is not improbable that it was in use in the Neolithic age. Armillas of pure gold formed into rounded bars and bent to suit the arm were in a cinerary urn found in Banffshire. Malcolm Canmore and his queen were served on

[1] "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," by Daniel Wilson, LL.D., Lond., 1863, 8vo, 2d edit., vol i. pp. 221-6.

plate of gold, and we learn from Turgot, the queen's confessor, that she granted to the Church many vessels of pure gold.

A search for native gold is noticed in a grant by David I. to the Abbey of Dunfermline in 1153 of a tithe of all the gold which should accrue to him from Fife and Forthrif.[1] By Gilbert de Moravia gold is said to have been discovered in 1245 at Duriness in Sutherland.[2] In 1424 Parliament granted to the Crown all the gold mines in Scotland; also all silver mines in which three halfpennies of silver could be found in the pound of lead.

During the reign of James IV. gold mines were discovered at Crawfurd Muir, for the working of which Sir James Pettigrew in 1511 and subsequently received numerous payments.[3] In 1524 the gold of Crawfurd Muir was coined in the Cunzie House; and two years later the mines of that locality were, with the sanction of Parliament, leased to a company of miners from Germany and Holland for the period of forty-three years. The project proved unsuccessful, and after a trial of five years was abandoned. In 1539 miners from Lorraine operated at Crawfurd Muir under the charge of John Mossman, royal goldsmith,

[1] "Regist de Dunfermeline," p. 16.

[2] "Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland," by Sir R. Gordon, 1813, p. 32.

[3] "Treasurer's Accounts," *passim.*

and the produce was sufficient for constructing coronets for the king and queen; also other ornaments. The earlier coins of the reign of Queen Mary were of native gold.

In 1567 the Regent Murray having authorised Cornelius de Vois, a Dutchman, to work gold and silver in any part of Scotland, a joint-stock company was formed, of which a portion of the nobility and certain opulent merchants became members. Under the company were employed in searching and washing 120 persons, each of whom in daily wages received fourpence. After some changes Bevis Bulmer, an English gentleman, obtained a patent in 1578 authorizing him to make a wide search. On his enterprise he entered with much ardour, and he succeeded in obtaining some auriferous deposits at Henderland, in Ettrick Forest. In recognition of his efforts he received the honour of knighthood.

The craft of jeweller or goldsmith was fully established in the reign of Queen Mary, and as money-lending at usurious interest was a portion of the business, members of families of rank were not unwilling to adopt and practise it. In 1593 Thomas Foulis, of the opulent family of Foulis of Colinton, in his capacity of goldsmith in Edinburgh, made a loan to the king of the sum of £14,594, a favour acknowledged by his receiving for twenty-one years the privilege of searching for gold, silver, and lead at

Crawfurd Muir and Glenconnar or Leadhills. He was also appointed Master of the Mint. George Heriot, a relative of Foulis, was in 1597 appointed goldsmith to the queen. As royal goldsmith he accompanied the king to London on his accession to the English throne. He died in 1624, bequeathing £50,000 to erect and endow the hospital at Edinburgh which bears his name.

Unmindful of existing engagements James VI. in 1603 granted £300 to George Bowes to work for minerals at Wanlock Water; but his operations being interrupted by a storm, he in 1604 wholly abandoned operations. A gold nugget found at Wanlockhead, weighing between four and five ounces, is preserved in the British Museum. An attempt by James VI. to raise funds for the working of gold mines by creating those who furnished capital for the undertaking *Knights of the Golden Mines,* or *Golden Knights,* proved abortive. The latest royal searcher for gold in Dumfriesshire was Stephen Atkinson, who in June 1616 obtained the life privilege of working for gold and silver at Crawfurd Muir ; he engaged to pay as a royalty one-tenth of the metal. During the Commonwealth the Council of State were informed of the discovery of gold in Scotland, and the subject was referred to a Committee, who made no report. In this country no effort in gold-mining has since been systematically made. Yet geologists and other com-

petent persons aver that gold is diffused both in the southern and northern districts, more especially in the counties of Argyle, Ross, and Sutherland.

Silver shrines for enclosing the bones of saints existed in Ireland in the seventh century, and three centuries later was exhibited at St Andrews a silver box inscribed with Latin verses, which contained copies of the gospels.

Silver was worked in Scotland at an early period, but the metal was obtained in moderate quantities. In 1606 it was discovered in considerable quantities at Hilderston, in Linlithgowshire. Of this discovery great expectations were entertained, the Lord Advocate reporting to the Privy Council in March 1607 that a profit of £500 might be obtained monthly. In 1608 Sir Bevis Bulmer was appointed surveyor, and at the king's cost miners were brought from Saxony. But after a trial, prosecuted for nearly two years, the result proved unsatisfactory. In 1613 James VI. proposed to feu the mines to Sir William Alexander of Menstry; Thomas Foulis, goldsmith in Edinburgh; and Paulo Pinto, a native of Portugal, a tenth part of the ore being reserved as royalty. Some time prior to the year 1715 a silver mine was opened in the Ochils at Alva. Worked by Sir James Erskine, the proprietor, it was found after a considerable trial to yield insufficient profit. From a portion of the ore were formed the communion cups

of Alva parish. A silver mine worked at Airthrey in 1760 was to the adventurers attended with loss.[1]

In Scotland copper mining was conducted in the archaic age. In the island of Jura, Pennant remarked trenches in which both lead and copper had been worked by instruments which are unknown to the modern miner. Among archaic ornaments are bracelets and armlets of bronze, usually formed of three metallic coils, terminating in serpents' heads, each ordinarily weighing two and three pounds. Copper mines were in the Ochils worked in the sixteenth century or earlier. Mining operations, which were conducted extensively, were in 1807 finally abandoned.

The art of native coinage dates from A.D. 630, when a silver penny was struck at York by King Edwin, who founded Edinburgh Castle and gave name to the city.[2] Circular gold pellets, impressed with a cross or star, and slightly flattened on each side, were used as coins prior to the twelfth century; hoards of these have been found in the western isles and elsewhere. A Scottish mint was established by David I., and in his reign public taxes were made payable both in money and kind. Agrarian offenders were amerced in the forfeiture of cattle, while burghal

[1] See "Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland," by R. W. Cochran Patrick, of Woodside, Edin., 1878, 4to.

[2] "Macpherson's Annals of Commerce," I. 239.

licences and penalties were made payable in shillings, pence, and farthings.[1]

On the 10th July 1631 Charles I. authorized a coinage of copper farthings, which proving unacceptable, was substituted by the production of copper coins of greater value. That the new coinage might be properly prepared, Nicholas Briot, Master of the English Mint, was sent into Scotland to initiate operations. At the suggestion of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, and with a view to the satisfying of his colonising claims, the Scottish Mint was placed under the control of John Alexander, one of his sons, who with the royal sanction mixed the copper with a baser metal. The coins so prepared were called *turners*, and as such were held in popular aversion. In defiance of the king they were in 1639 "called down" by the Privy Council, with the approval of Parliament. In a satirical epitaph on the Earl of Stirling, the cynical Sir James Balfour describes him as

"A coppersmith who did much evil,"

and, in allusion to his verse-making, travestied his family motto, "*Per mare, per terras*," into "Per metre, per turners."

According to some writers, Julius Cæsar made the

[1] "Records of the Coinage of Scotland," by R. W. Cochran Patrick, 1876, 2 vols. 4to, Vol. I., civ.

invasion of Britain with the view of fishing pearls. By the Venerable Bede we are informed that Scottish rivers abounded in shell-fish, in which were found excellent pearls of all colours, but chiefly white. Alexander I., who reigned from 1107 to 1124, was a noted collector of pearls, those which he treasured being both in respect of size and brilliancy celebrated in foreign countries.[1]

Prior to the eleventh century drinking vessels were formed of horn; thereafter were used timber cups mounted with silver. During the reign of James III., mazers or goblets were used by the king and barons. A massive silver beaker in the shape of a lion is preserved at Glammis Castle, the ancient seat of the Earls of Strathmore. When the vessel, which contained an English pint, was placed before a guest, it was understood that he would drink its full measure of wine in honour of the host. By Sir Walter Scott the Glammis beaker is made the prototype of the *Poculum Potatorium* of the Baron of Bradwardine. Sir Walter in a note appended to "The Pirate," describes another large drinking vessel preserved at Kirkwall, as the beaker of St Magnus. It was presented to each bishop of the Orkneys filled with strong ale, and if he was able to quaff the contents in a single draught, a portent was given that the next crop would prove to be abundant.

[1] "Macpherson's Annals of Commerce," I. 318; Cochran Patrick's "Records of Coinage," I., cv.

From the reign of David II. (1329-1370) the Crown jewels were held sufficiently important to be frequently pledged in security for temporary loans. The contents of the royal jewel-chest, catalogued in 1488, included collars, brooches, and finger-rings, set with diamonds, pearls, rubies, sapphires and emeralds, also with the beryl and topaz. Among two hundred and fifty articles of jewellery belonging to Queen Mary, inventoried in 1566, are a diamond cross, called "the Great Harry," a chain enriched with rubies and diamonds, several diamond necklaces an dfinger-rings, a watch studded with diamonds; a small dial adorned with diamonds, rubies, and pearls, and a red enamelled ring presented to the Queen by Lord Darnley on the occasion of their marriage.[1]

On a loan made by some inhabitants of Edinburgh to James VI., the Corporation of the city received in security one of His Majesty's jewels. A minute of Council, dated the 25th April 1584, thus certifies the transaction. "In presens of certane of the counsall and nichtbouris of the towne, Alexander Clerk of Balbirnie, provest, resauet in fra Jhonne Gib seruitor to the Kings Maiestie, ane of His Maiesties jewellis, to witt ane taiblett of gold in ane caise, and on the

[1] "Exchequer Rolls," ii., xlvi., 80, 115. "Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer," i., 80-87. "Catalogue of the Jewels of Mary Queen of Scots" [edited by Joseph Robertson]. Edinb. 1863. 4to.

said taiblett ane dyomont stayne and ane emerawld stayne, quhilk wes delyuerit be the said Jhonne in His Maiesteis name to my lord provest, in name of the provest, bailyeis, and counsall of this burgh, in pledge of the sowme of foure thowsand pund presentlie lent to his grace be certane nichtboures of the said burgh, as is mentionat in ane lettre of resaitt of the said jewell delyuerit to the said Jhonne, and subscryuet be the provest, bailyeis, and counsall, and on the bak thairof subscryuet be my lord provest, grantand his lordschip's resaitt of the said jowell. Siclyke my lord provest resauet the act of secreitt counsall."

To certain noble families belonged valuable jewel-chests. George, fifth Earl Marischal, died in 1623; his widow soon afterwards married Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, who, along with her and a confederate, was charged before the Privy Council with surreptitiously appropriating jewels which had belonged to the Earl. Among these are enumerated, "Portugal ducats and other species of foreign gold to the avail of twenty thousand pounds; thretty-sax dozen of gold buttons; ane rich jewel all set with diamonts, whilk the earl resavit as ane gift given to him the time he was ambassader in Denmark, worth sax thousand merks; the Queen of Denmark's picture in gold, set about with rich diamonts estimat to five thousand merks; ane jasp stone for steming of

bluid,[1] estimat to five hundred French crouns; ane chenyie of equal pearl, wherein wes four hundred pearls great and small, twa chenyies of gold, of twenty-four unce weight; ane other jewel of diamonts set in gold worth three thousand merks; ane great pair of bracelets all set with diamants, price thereof five hundred crowns; the other pair of gold bracelets, at sax hundred pounds the pair;" also various rings set in diamonds and precious stones, and other costly ornaments and coins.

So early as the twelfth century Scottish decorative art had made some progress. In the charter room of the Duke of Roxburgh at Floors is preserved the great charter which Malcolm IV., between 1153 and 1165, granted to the abbey of Kelso, and which in one general confirmation unites all previous benefactions. Of this charter the initial letter exhibits two crowned figures, seated, each surrounded by a gilt border—that on the left representing miniatures of David I., the king's grandfather, and founder of the abbey, holding in his right hand the sword of state, and in his left a globe—the figure on the left representing the king holding the sceptre in his right hand, and with his left touching the sword of state, which sheathed rests across his knees. The colours are scarlet, blue, green, red, brown, fawn, and

[1] Stones to which healing virtues were assigned were not uncommon.

gold; and in the border are represented intertwined snakes. In 1327 John the Painter received the sum of 4s. 4d. by command of Robert the Bruce. And for decorating and gilding the tomb of that sovereign, John of Lithgow, painter and sculptor, obtained in 1329 various payments.[1] In 1373 the conservator of the Edinburgh mint is described as Andrew the Painter; his contemporary artists were John, painter at Aberdeen, and Friar Thomas Lorimer.[2] Matthew, royal painter to James I. at Linlithgow, is named in 1434.[3]

A zealous promoter of the arts, James III. befriended several artists, of whom were Cochrane, an architect, Homyll, a robemaker, and Leonard, a worker in skins. A famous painting now in Holyrood Palace, and associated with the reign of James III.,—the altar piece of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh,—was the work of a Flemish artist.[4] Sir Thomas Galbraith, an illuminator of MSS.,[5] David Peat, an altar painter, and other decorative artists, were employed or patronized by James IV. Queen Mary encouraged foreign artists, but of her portraits, the greater number were executed by the brush of

[1] "Exchequer Rolls," i., 63, 150, 185, 193.

[2] Ibid., ii., 430, 608, cxiii.

[3] Ibid., iv., 579.

[4] "Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," x., 310-324.

[5] "Facsimiles of National MSS." Part i., Plate xxxii.

John Alexander, an ingenious artist of the eighteenth century. Alexander's maternal ancestor, George Jamesone, imparted a new character to national portraiture. Studying in Antwerp under Rubens, he, on his return, was patronized by Charles I., and by several noble families till his death, which took place in 1644. The portraits of the kings in the gallery of Holyrood Palace were, on the commission of the Duke of York, executed by De Witt, a native of Flanders.

The Scottish wood-carver may be traced to that remote age, when craftsmen's implements were found equal to fashioning the timber quern and constructing and scooping the canoe. In the crannogs of Ayrshire have been dug up various articles in oak incised with concentric circles, and connected by running scrolls; also, with the earlier traces of interlaced knot-work associated with Celtic art.

The modern art of Scottish wood-engraving was derived from the Flemings. Among the earlier specimens are the exquisitely carved oak screen and canopied stalls of King's College, Aberdeen. In rearing that structure which was founded in 1494 foreign artists were employed. The gracefully sculptured stall-work of Dunblane Cathedral was executed at the cost of the Dean, Sir William Drummond, by his relative, John Drummond, of Auchterarder, the King's master of works. By John Drummond were

designed the oak carvings of the new palace at Stirling, the carver being Andrew Wood, one of his workmen. Each of the carvings occupied the centre of a square compartment, into which the roof of the Presence Chamber was divided. All represented human heads or full-sized figures; among those recognised are portraits of James V. and of his second queen, Mary of Guise. Others are believed to represent such royal and notable persons, as James IV. and his queen, King Robert the Bruce, and the patriot Wallace. In 1777 some of the carvings having become detached, an order was issued from the War Office that the walls should be stripped. In executing this order, the workmen allowed the carvings to be borne off as firewood, but a few were preserved. The chief protectors were General Graham, the deputy-governor of the castle, and his wife (sister of Susan Ferrier, author of "Marriage"), who had all the carvings they could secure sketched and engraved.[1] The originals have since been deposited in places of safety.

The weapons of archaic times have been described. On the slopes of ancient *daisses*, or hill terraces, and

[1] See "Lacunar Strivilinense: A Collection of Heads etched and engraved after the Carved Work which formerly decorated the Roof of the King's Room in Stirling Castle" [by Edward Blore], Edin., 1817, 4to; also Lord Strathallan's "History of the House of Drummond," *passim*.

in lake bottoms, have been picked up bronze swords, resembling those subsequently formed of iron, and of patterns still in use. These may be assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries. The ancient Scots used oak targets, covered with bull-hide; also long shields, narrow below and broad above, formed of oak or willow, and girt with iron. Subsequently shields were constructed of iron, each weighing about twenty pounds. Each chief had an armour-bearer, who preceded him in war, and was his follower in peace. Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, in his testament executed in 1390 and 1392, mentions "belts, a pair of plates," and "suits of armour," one of which was adapted for a tournament.[1]

At the combat which in 1396 took place on the North Inch of Perth between the clans Kay and Glenquhattan, were used bows, axes, swords and daggers; also the long Scottish spear. To the monks of Cupar, their tenants in 1475 and subsequently became bound to provide themselves with armour for personal and national defence. That armour was to consist of "jakkis" or loose coats of stout leather, "hattis and splentis," or plated armour for the head and legs, "bowis and schawis," or bows and arrows, and "swurdis, bukklaris, and aksys," or swords, bucklers, and battle axes. The abbey tenants were also required to plant and rear young

[1] "Innes's Sketches of Early Scotch History," pp. 332-3.

ash trees to be used as oars and handles.[1] Among the family treasures of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, inventoried in 1640, are included field-pieces and hackbuts of copper and iron, muskets indented with pearl and gilded bone, and engraved with "the laird's armes;" also "cut-throat pistols of copper," a two-handed sword, the handle "overlayed with velvet;" steel and cork targets, corslets and head-pieces, "ring craiges" or throat protectors, gauntlet gloves, shoulder pieces, and other military appliances.[2]

During the fifteenth century the principal tenants of Cupar abbey bound themselves to be in readiness to attend the district weapon-shaws, held four times a year. Scottish yeoman and burgesses were appointed to be armed with bows and sheaves, swords, bucklers, knives, and spears; also in lack of a bow, with a Lochaber axe. Burghers wore bright steel caps, and were compelled to attend the weapon-shaws, under their bailies or aldermen.

Iron was used in Britain at the time of the Roman invasion, but the legionaries materially advanced the manufacture. There are traces of early forges at Carlinwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire, Dalziel, Lanarkshire, and Blair Athole, Perthshire. Many localities,

[1] "Register of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar," Grampian Club, 1880-1, vol. i., pp. 194-6.

[2] "Innes's Sketches," p. 509.

both in the Highlands and Lowlands, retain names which in Gaelic connect them with the forge or the blacksmith's dwelling. By native smiths were constructed the ancient chariots, also the iron handbell used alike by Druidic priests and the earlier missionaries.

The iron handbell was fashioned out of a plate of hammered iron, the ring which forms the handle projecting internally, so as to produce a loop for suspending the clapper. The hammered bells of the Druidic age are from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. Those used at the wattled fane for summoning the brethren to meals and the neophytes to devotion, are in length from 10 to 12 inches. Named in honour of ancient saints they were in Wales and Ireland, also among Scottish tribes, used for receiving the oaths of the uneducated. To the iron bell of St Fillan, a saint of the seventh century, was ascribed a miraculous efficacy, for when placed in a pool it was believed that any one labouring under lunacy, who was thereafter dipped in the water, would experience cure. During the tenth century and subsequently, many iron bells were enclosed in brass and silver shrines, decorated with Celtic ornament.

So long as iron was rare, it was worked by the same artificers who operated in the more precious metals. The iron-working of native smiths in the fifteenth century is singularly ornate in door locks,

keys and hinges, also in rails and balustrades. On the 23d April 1585, the Town Council of Edinburgh having purchased for £55 the clock of Lindores Abbey, employed a smith at Blantyre to erect it in the tower of St Giles' church, also "for dressing of the sam with twa hands."

Prior to the eighteenth century iron was produced sparingly. In 1686 John Meikle had secured to him by the authority of Parliament the privilege for nineteen years of casting balls and cannon. The first iron-smelting furnaces on an important scale were the Carron Works, established in 1760, but the demand for manufactured iron so rapidly increased that before the close of the century seventeen great furnaces were established. These were built chiefly in the counties of Lanark, Ayr, and Fife. Iron nails were substituted by joiners for wooden pins, while of iron were fabricated ploughs and harrows, and other agricultural implements previously constructed of timber. Iron ship-building which was commenced on the Clyde in 1818, has since become a vast national industry. But a chief use of iron has been found in uniting, by means of the railway system, the outlying parts of the country with the centres of commerce. The first Scottish railway was in 1812 constructed between Kilmarnock and Troon; the second in 1831 between Edinburgh and Dalkeith. On both of these horses were employed.

By the invention of the hot-blast in 1827, and of the steam-hammer in 1839, the production of iron and its adaptation to economic uses have been marvellously facilitated. During the year 1883, 1,129,024 tons of pig-iron were produced in Scotland. The manufacture of steel lately introduced is, in the western countries, advancing with an amazing rapidity. Lead was discovered in Scotland by the Romans. At Leadhills it has been worked since the beginning of the sixteenth century. At Wanlochhead, in the same neighbourhood, the ore is mixed with silver, which, by the process of smelting, is extracted.

On the 7th January 1635, Charles I., with advice of his Privy Council, granted to James Colquhoun, citizen of Glasgow, licence for the period of twenty-one years "in working, casting, moulding, and frameing of all sorts of works of lead, fitt not onlie for theiking, covering, strenthining, and decoreing of all sorts of housse work and structurs, therevnto belonging, as weel for vse or ornament and decencie, as also of all conduit pypis for conducting and raising of watters for many necessarie vses." In continuation the royal letter bears that the patent had been granted mainly in consideration that "the said James Colquhoun, by his long experience in searching out the secrets of that trade, hath fund out a peculiar way, never heretofore practized, wherby he will

mak a scheet of lead weying twelff stane weght to be more vsefull, of longer continuance, and to abyd greater extremiteis of wind and weather, nor any scheet of lead vsed heirtofore weyand saxteen stane weicht, in regard to his artifice of making thairof more solide, less poris, and consequintlie more voyd of all cracks, holls or popill, and speciallie in the exact squarring and proportioning of the evennesse to the thickness of the saidis scheets."[1]

The ordinary products of native and other metal-workers are to be remarked in the Commissariot and other registers. In the third volume of the "Regality Register of Dunfermline" in 1650 is exhibited "the Inventar of ane Burges airschipe which is the best of ilk sorte of all moveable goods or gear the defunct had pertaining to him the tym of his deceas within his dwelling house." In the "inventar" are named among articles of gold and silver "ane Portugal ducate of the best peice of gold, or money commonlie called ane purse pennie; ane silver qwhissell; an silver pyke tooth; a piklug; ane house knock" [clock]; in timber-work, "the standard of ane bassone called the knaive;" in iron, "ane streatching goose," "ane iron for rosting of egges," and "ane bullet for breaking of coalls;" and in brass, "ane hinging chandler of brass with flowers, commonly hung in the midst of the hall," "ane pair of the best candle

[1] Earl of Stirling's "Register of Royal Letters," ii., 819.

scheeres" [snuffers], "ane broo [broth] pott, and ane litle posno [posset] pott, ane broo plaitt, ane dozen of tin plaitts; ane dozen best truncheris, and saceris, an inamblet stourpt, ane tin flaccot." Among articles of napery are included "ane pair of spreinzed [embroidered] bed plattis; ane dozen of the best servitors [napkins]." With other articles of armour are quoted "the best two-handed suord, the best capper or short suord, ane steel bonnet, ane corslet with taisellis, and ane gamfflet gluve."

The early history of coal-mining has been described.[1] It was held, both by statute and canon law, that labourers in mines and saltpits were "necessary servants," and as such were bound, with their children, to work in mines and pits in perpetual servitude. This rule serves to explain an advertisement which, in the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 6th March 1661, appears in these words:—"If there be any ingenious spirits that would improve their fortunes by the trade of coal and salt, let them come to George Thomson's over against Blackfryer-Wynd, on the north side of the street, where the gentleman shall be found to treat with them touching a bargain of a flourishing coal, in the parish of Tranent, and five salt-men in Prestonpans: these things rightly considered will undoubtedly prove advantageous to the undertakers."

[1] See *supra*, pp. 51-2.

In 1775 an Act with the following preamble was added in the statute-book, "That whereas by the law of Scotland, as explained by the judges of the courts of law there, many colliers and coal-bearers, and salters, are in a state of slavery or bondage, bound to the collieries or salt-works where they work for life, transferable with the collieries and salt-works." In this Act it is stipulated that coal-workers under twenty-one years should be liberated in seven, and those between twenty-one and thirty-five in ten years. By a further enactment passed in 1799, it was declared that all colliers in Scotland were henceforth free.

The manufacture of oil from bituminous coal and shale, which for thirty years has been conducted as an important industry, was at a former period unknown.

The glass beads and amulets found in mounds and cairns were probably brought into the island by Phoenician traders. Among the more curious trinkets are glass rings, known as *glan naidyr*. Half the width of modern finger-rings, but of greater thickness, they usually present a green colour. Others are blue, or variegated with wavy streaks of blue, red, and white, and the whole are of exquisite workmanship. According to Adamnan, the Picts used glass drinking vessels.

Glass was manufactured in Northumberland so

early as A.D. 674; it is mentioned by the Venerable Bede. But glass was not used for windows till the fifteenth century. And even in royal palaces in 1661, the principal apartments only had windows of glass. The stained or painted glass windows of ancient churches, which exhibit in their fragments bold handling and rich colouring, were, it is believed, brought from Venice and Flanders.

As a native industry, the manufacture of glass was unknown prior to the reign of James VI. By that sovereign a patent was granted to George Hay, empowering him to work in glass for a period of thirty-one years. Hay opened a glass manufactory in a cave at Wemyss, but the concern proved unremunerative, and was abandoned. A glass manufactory was established at Leith in 1682, and subsequently at Prestonpans. Glass painting as a native art began in Scotland so recently as 1830.

Of ancient stone-pits there are few traces. When in house-building, mud and timber were the chief materials, stone was undisturbed. The principal quarries are not older than the sixteenth century. Those of freestone more approved are situated at Craigleith, Redhall, Binnie, and Hailes, near Edinburgh; at Dunmore and Plean, Stirlingshire; at Grange, near Burntisland; and at Wishaw, in Lanarkshire. Granite is worked in the counties of Aberdeen, Inverness, and Kirkcudbright. For roofing purposes slate has been

used since the beginning of the seventeenth century; it is chiefly obtained in the island of Easdale, and at the great quarries of Ballachulish, Aberfoyle, and Dunkeld.

The production in Scotland of fictile ware dates from the age of bronze, when cinerary urns and other clay vessels were formed simply by the hand. Urns were constructed and baked at the same fires which consumed the bodies of which they were to contain the ashes. Articles of earthenware were subsequently fashioned on the potter's wheel, and marked by a modelling tool of wood or bone. Urns had now assumed sizes varying from one to two feet in height, and in which could be gathered together and preserved the ashes of a household. Next followed the more artistic work of the Roman potter, with the embossed Samian ware, also the glazed urns in which were deposited the ashes of bodies cremated towards the close of the Druidic age. These latter vessels are formed with projecting ears and rims, and provided with lids.

If, as is generally supposed, the manufacture of fictile ware was discontinued from about the eighth till the beginning of the eighteenth century, then we are driven to the conclusion that the tiles, plain and glazed, with which were paved the greater churches, must have been imported from foreign countries. In the thirteenth century, Germany pro-

duced enamelled wares remarkable for a fine green glaze. But the Scottish trade was chiefly conducted with Delft in Holland, of which the ceramic production were, in the sixteenth century, known and valued for their fantastic designs, bright colours, and exquisite enamel, tinged with blue.

The lack of earthenware factories was in 1703 found to occasion "the yearly export of large sums of money out of the kingdom;" also to cause many household articles to be sold at "double charges of what they cost abroad,"[1] therefore Parliamentary authority was granted to two enterprising persons at Edinburgh to set up a "pot-house, and all conveniences for making up laim, purslane, and earthenware," and for bringing from foreign countries workmen skilled in the manufacture. In order to their encouragement, Parliament granted to the adventurers an exclusive right of producing fictile goods for the space of fifteen years. The undertaking was partially successful, but no other pottery was ventured upon till 1748, when a delft ware manufactory was established in Glasgow. China was first manufactured in Scotland in 1777, at a pottery which in that year was established at Verreville, near Glasgow. The Garnkirk terra-cotta works were erected about half a century ago.[2]

[1] Chambers' "Domestic Annals," iii., 156-7.

[2] For a full account of recent and existing potteries in Scotland,

To the origin of native woollen manufactures no precise date may be assigned. Our Caledonian ancestors, when they ceased to clothe themselves in undressed hides and sheep's skins, prepared garments from fleeces. Wool was certainly woven in Scotland in the eighth century, while, four centuries later, David I. introduced in the principal towns, from England, wooldressers, dyers, and weavers. Under royal sanction, wool was at the same period largely imported; and in the reign of Alexander III., a century later, it was exchanged with Flemish merchants for linen, silks, and broadcloth.

During the fifteenth century, both male and female garments were prepared by men, the mantua-maker being unknown. Robert Spittal, who fashioned the garments of Margaret, Queen of James IV., attained considerable opulence. He erected a stone bridge across the Teith, and founded and endowed the hospital at Stirling, which bears his name.

Woollen manufactures were largely conducted at Galashiels so early as 1622, while articles of hosiery were, in 1640, produced at Hawick. An attempt by an English company to manufacture woollen fabrics at Haddington in 1681 proved unprofitable, and was abandoned.

Prior to the reign of Queen Mary carpets were

see "The Ceramic Art of Great Britain," by Llewellyn Jewett, F.S.A., new edit., Lond. 1883, imp. 8vo, pp. 610-625.

unused. And till two centuries later, even the better class of dwellings had their floors covered with mats and rugs, more frequently with rushes, even when the walls were clothed with tapestry. The first Scottish carpet manufactory was, in 1777, established at Kilmarnock. The tweed trade now extensively conducted in the Border towns arose in 1830. Consisting of a fabric in which two or more yarns of different colours are intertwisted, it was originally called tweel, but owing to the misreading of the final letter by a London dealer, to whom early specimens were transmitted, tweed became the appellative. The wool now used in the Scottish manufactures is chiefly imported from Australia, New Zealand, the Cape, and Buenos Ayres.

In Scotland, the manufacture of cloth from flax was understood in the thirteenth century, but the art may have been practised earlier. Originally flax was grown, dressed, spun, and woven upon the farm or croft: latterly it was converted into cloth by litsters. Towards the close of the seventeenth century companies for the manufacture of linen were formed; and with a view to their promotion, the Parliament of 1686 enacted that the bodies of deceased persons should be swathed in linen only. By a further enactment the exportation of lint was prohibited; it was also to be imported duty free.

In 1725 linen manufactures were commenced at

Glasgow. Seven years earlier, damask weaving was started at Dunfermline. Imported by a manufacturer at Dundee in 1822, jute was not converted into yarn as a separate product till twelve years afterwards. In 1847 the first Scottish floorcloth manufactory was established at Kirkcaldy. Cotton was manufactured in Scotland in 1641, but the first cotton mill was erected in 1778 at Rothesay in Bute.

A paper manufactory was attempted in 1590 without success; but in 1673 a paper mill at the Water of Leith, in which French operatives were employed, proved fortunate. An important manufactory for producing writing and printing papers was erected at Edinburgh in 1695, which was followed in 1709 by the great works at Penicuik. The principal paper-works in Scotland are those conducted in the counties of Aberdeen, Lanark, and Midlothian.

In Scotland, book printing commenced about thirty years after the art had by Caxton been introduced in England. On the 15th September 1507, James IV. appointed Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, booksellers, his royal printers. By their patent they were empowered to print "the bukes of our lawes, acts of Parliament, croniclis and mass buikis." Their premises were situated in the Cowgate, then called the South Gaitt, and near the spot now spanned by George the Fourth's Bridge. In 1509 Chepman printed on his own account. In 1509-10 he pro-

duced in two volumes the breviary of Bishop Elphinstone.[1] In gratitude for his commercial success, Chepman founded and endowed two chaplainries, which he connected with altarages in the cathedral of St Giles. In 1541 some recent Acts of Parliament were printed by Thomas Davidson, the King's printer. The Catechism commonly known as Archbishop Hamilton's was, in 1551, printed at St Andrews.

The Act of the Estates, passed on the 19th March 1543, and which provided that all might read the Old and New Testaments in the mother tongue, was followed by an extensive importation of English Bibles. Knox remarks that "there mycht have been seen the Bybill lying upon maist every gentlemannis table." Yet the Scriptures were not printed in Scotland till many years later. The proprietors of the first Scottish issue were the printers Thomas Bassandyne and Alexander Arbuthnot, who, in 1576 completed in folio a verbatim reprint of the Geneva version. Undertaken under the sanction and encouragement of the Regent Morton, every parish was by the Privy Council, called upon to advance the sum of £4, 13s. 4d. in payment of a copy. The Bassandyne Bible

[1] In the Advocates Library are preserved a number of tracts issued by Chepman and Myllar; these were, in 1827, reproduced in facsimile. A copy of Elphinstone's "Breviary," printed by Chepman, is preserved in the same library.

was rare in 1610, when Andrew Hart, printer at Edinburgh, produced his folio issue. Hart's edition in its turn became scarce, since we find that in 1695 the Kirksession of Crail, in providing a Bible for the church pulpit, despatched to Holland the sum of sixteen pounds for a copy.[1]

In 1582 Alexander Arbuthnot printed a folio edition of Buchanan's History. Robert Leprivick, printer to James VI., established printing presses at Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Stirling; he produced at each some important works. Among the other printers of the reign of James VI., the more conspicuous are Nefield, Waldegrave, Raban, and Bryson. Robert Young, printer to Charles X., produced in May 1637 the celebrated "Service Book," which, though otherwise censured, was admired for its elegant typography. During the Commonwealth, Evan Tyler, who had as King's printer been associated with Young, conducted printing under the sanction of the Protector. He was followed by Christopher Higgins, an Englishman, who, in connection with a company of London stationers, was followed by Patrick Ramsay, a native of Scotland. In 1671 Andrew Anderson, formerly of Glasgow, having induced the various printers at Edinburgh to associate with him in a sort of co-partnership, obtained a patent as King's printer, which was to subsist for forty-one years. He died in 1679,

[1] Crail Parish Register.

and the privileges of his co-partners being surrendered to his widow, she in 1683 asserted her right to a printing monopoly.

James Watson, merchant in Aberdeen, who had aided with money Charles II. during his exile, was in acknowledgment of the favour appointed printer to the King's household; in 1684 he opened a press at Edinburgh. Dying in 1687, he was succeeded by his son, of the same name, the author of the "History of Printing." The Scottish contemporaries of the younger Watson were Robert Freebairn, and Thomas and Walter Ruddiman. Freebairn had as a silent partner David Graham of Orchill, a Perthshire landowner. In possession of this gentleman were found at his death in 1724,[1] two hundred and fifty-nine copies of the collected edition of Buchanan's Works, edited by Thomas Ruddiman, and which Freebairn had printed in 1715, in two folio volumes.

In 1740 the afterwards celebrated press of Messrs Foulis was established at Glasgow; and the national reputation which it induced was subsequently maintained by the elegant issues of the Ballantyne press. In 1763 six printing offices existed at Edinburgh; in 1790 the number had increased to sixteen; it is now a principal industry of the city.

By the widow of Andrew Anderson, King's

[1] "Testament and Inventory of David Graham of Orchill," Dunblane Com. Reg., XVIII., fol. 321.

printer, was maintained a sole right of printing and publishing the Scriptures, while those who contravened her privilege were rigorously prosecuted. At length the Privy Council, in consideration of the numerous inaccuracies in her Scriptural issues, cancelled her monopoly. A monopoly in printing the sacred volume existed in Scotland up to our own times; the privilege was enjoyed by Messrs Blair & Bruce, two opulent landowners. When in 1837 their patent expired, an attempt was made to gain the monopoly for the Universities. But this proposal was resisted, and while by legislative authority the right of producing copies of the Scriptures was conceded to the general public, those who dreaded that such unlimited permission might conduce to textual errors, were tranquillized by the provision that Bible-printers should be licensed by the Lord Advocate, and their issues revised by a Board. The system of licensing is continued, but the duties of the Bible Board have ceased to be onerous.

A newspaper, *Mercurius Caledonius*, was started at Edinburgh on the 8th January 1661, but it stopped after the ninth weekly issue. By the Privy Council in December of the same year Robert Mein, Keeper of the Letter Office at Edinburgh, was authorized "to print and publish ane diurnal weekly for preventing false news which may be invented by evil and disaffected persons." But the proposed

journal, though sanctioned by the public executive, was not ventured upon. In 1680 a newspaper was started as the *Edinburgh Gazette;* this speedily collapsed, but it was followed in 1699 by a journal bearing the same name, which existed eight years. The *Edinburgh Courant*, a small print issued thrice a week, was commenced in 1705, and in 1710 was placed under the editorship of the celebrated Defoe; but its existence was ephemeral. The increased prosperity of the country, based on a settled government, and the prosperity, commercial and agricultural, which followed the Union, at length justified journalistic adventures of a higher order. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, commenced in December 1713, was followed by the *Caledonian Mercury* about two years later. Weekly journals at the same period were permanently established at Glasgow.

Stereotyping, or block-printing, was invented by William Ged, whose hapless career has been denoted. Originally a goldsmith, he, in order to carry out his invention, abandoned his craft; but his efforts to introduce his art were resolutely opposed by master and journeymen printers both in Edinburgh and London. In 1741 he refused an offer made to him by Dutch printers to settle among them, preferring that his own countrymen should mainly profit by his discovery. He died in 1749; his invention improved by Tilloch and Professor Alexander Wilson, and per-

fected by Lord Stanhope, is now in universal use. The father of Scottish letter-founders, Professor Alexander Wilson, a native of St Andrews, opened in that city a type-foundry conjointly with a fellow-townsman named Bain. After two years, the partners removed in 1744 to Camlachie, near Glasgow, where by constructing types for the edition of the Greek classics issued by Messrs Foulis, Dr Wilson much added to his fame. In 1760 he was appointed Professor of Practical Astronomy in the University of Glasgow; he died in 1786 at the age of seventy-two.

The white cattle which roamed in Caledonian forests, and which when Sir Robert Sibbald wrote about the close of the seventeenth century wandered upon the mountains, were in south-western districts early domesticated. A portion of the breed subjected to culture in the enclosures of Galloway were during the sixteenth century remarked for their large size, handsome shape, and well-flavoured flesh. Introduced to the rich pastures of Carrick, their existence is depicted in the rhyme:—

"Kyle for a man,
Carrick for a coo;
Cunningham for butter and cheese,
And Galloway for woo'."

The celebrated Ayrshire cattle derive from a union of the Carrick breed with a race which early in the

eighteenth century was imported from the Western Highlands. Ayrshire milk is on large dairy farms manufactured into cheese, which, in general use at home, is largely exported.

Leather was worked at Edinburgh in the middle of the sixteenth century, and at Perth early in the reign of James VI. tanning on an important scale was largely conducted.

The navigator Pytheas, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who visited Britain B.C. 330, remarks that the natives used a liquor prepared from wheat and honey. From the mountain heath the Picts derived a species of liquor, which they fermented with sugar. Their breweries, known as *kist vaen*, are those pear-shaped enclosures, found resting on southern hill-slopes near clear, swift-running streams. *Kist vaen* are common in the counties of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, abounding largely in the parishes of Minnigaff and Kirkmabreck in the latter province. Each *kist vaen* or kiln is about sixteen feet in length, by eight at greatest breadth, the side wall being about three feet in height. The liquor prepared in the *kist vaen* was latterly known as mead.

The practice of brewing *ol* or ale from grain or malt, derived from the Saxons, was conducted by women. By the *Leges Burgorum* of the reign of David I., a licence duty of fourpence a year was imposed on "broustaris." By another burgh law it

was provided that "what woman that wil brew ale to sell sall brew al the yhere thruch eftir the custume of the toune; and gif scho dois nocht scho sal be suspendit of hir office be the space of a yhere and a day. And gif sho makis ivil ale, and dois agane the custome of the toun and be convykyt of it, scho sall gif til her mercyment viii s. or than thole the lauch of the toun,[1] that is to say, be put on the kukstule, and the ale sall be gyffen to the pure folk the tua part, and the thyrt part sent to the brethyrn of the hospitale. And rycht sic dome sal be done of meide as of ale. And ilke broustare sal put hir alewande ututh hir house at hir window, or abune hir door, that it may be seabill commonly til al men, the whilk, gif scho dois nocht, scho sal pay for hir default iiijs." The alewande was known in England as the ale-stake, latterly as an ale post. During the reign of David I. ale was sold at one halfpenny per gallon. According to Wyntoun, the death of Alexander III., in 1286, which much affected the national prosperity, raised the price of ale as of other commodities. The chronicler writes:

"Quhen Alysandyr, oure Kyng, wes dede,
That Scotland led in luwe and le',

[1] The origin and object of the kukstule, the pioneer of the civic pillory and ecclesiastical repentance-stool, is here plainly set forth. Placed upon it, the offender was exposed to public derision, that is, "the lauch of the toun."

Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Off wyne and wax, off gamyn and gle,
Our gold wes chang'yd into lede—
Cryst, born into virgynyte
Succour Scotland, and remede,
That stad [is in] perplexyte."

From Germany, in the fourteenth century, was derived the mode of manufacturing *bier* or beer. From ale it differed, inasmuch that the product contained hops. Beer was at first imported, but in the fifteenth century brewers from Germany planted themselves in the principal towns. The quality of beer was regulated by a public taster, and the prices fixed by the district magistracy. On the 12th May 1495 the abbots and monks of Cupar granted to certain tenants the right of brewing; in the same lease is named "the common ailhous perteyning till our myl of Kethik." A specified measure of ale was allowed to the brethren, also to the workmen, as their daily portion. In the Rental Book of the abbey are mentioned "convent ale," "better ale," and "drink of the masons."

In Kinross-shire, "the browst" which the gudewife o' Lochrin produced from a peck o' maut, is commemorated thus:

"Twenty pints o' strong ale,
Twenty pints o' sma',
Twenty pints o' hinkie-pinkie,
Twenty pints o' plooman's drinkie,

Twenty pints o' splitter-splatter,
And twenty pints wes waur than water."

In the eighteenth century ale was usually brewed in three qualities—described as *ostler ale, household ale,* and *strong ale*—the last being reserved for holiday times.

As an ordinary beverage, mead had, prior to the fourteenth century, been discontinued. But ale or beer prevailed as a universal beverage till about a century ago, when the general use of tea tended naturally to lessen the consumption. Prior to 1784, a brewery existed for every hundred persons. "Drink money" or "drink silver" is an item included in the Burgh Records of Edinburgh and Aberdeen in connection with tradesmen's claims; it meant the usual allowance of beer. The universality of the consumption, and its vast extent, induced the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1690 to impose on the manufacturer a tax of 2d. per pint; this in 1723 produced no less a revenue than £7939. But half a century later, the demand had so diminished that the produce of the tax in 1776 was only £2197.

A century ago household ale was retailed at 2d. per pint, hence the liquor was popularly known as twopenny. In "Tam o' Shanter," Burns writes :

"Wi' tippenny we fear nae evil."

The inhabitants of Nairnshire and other northern

counties regaled themselves with a species of liquor derived from the birch. Writing in 1669, Pennant remarks that while with the bark of the birch Highlanders tan their own leather, "a great deal of excellent wine is extracted from the live tree." The process was conducted in spring, when on the birch being punctured the liquor flowed copiously. In Shetland the peasantry used a beverage called bland, and which they prepared by pouring hot water into churned milk.[1]

Whisky, that is *uisge-beatha*, or water of life, was manufactured in the fifteenth century. In 1495, Friar John Cor received from the Exchequer eight bolls of malt *ad faciendum aquavitæ*.[2] At first used as medicine it was dispensed only by persons specially authorized. In 1505 the Town Council of Edinburgh provided "that na persoun man nor woman within this burgh mak nor sell ony aquavite within the samyn, except the saidis maisteris brether and friemen of the saidis craftis [surgeons and barbers] under the paine of escheit of the samyn but favouris."[3] By the magistrates of Edinburgh in 1557, Bessy Campbell was ordered to cease from whisky-making, also from selling it, except upon the market day. The

[1] Brand's "Orkney and Zetland," 1701, 8vo, p. 114.

[2] Exchequer Rolls, No. 305.

[3] Gairdner's "Historical Sketch of Royal College of Surgeons," Edin., 1860, 8vo, p. 6.

manufacture was, in 1579, restricted by Parliament on account of the scarcity of grain—those who contravened the statute being punished by a confiscation of the liquor and other penalties. But persons of substance were allowed to manufacture whisky for use in their own families.

Writing in 1598, the traveller Fynes Moryson remarks that the inhabitants of the western parts of Scotland carried into Ireland red and pickled herrings sea-coals, and *aquavitae*," in exchange for yarn and cowhides.[1] In enumerating the articles of food and drink used in the great highland hunt of 1618, Taylor, the water poet, remarks that with different sorts of wine there was " most potent *aquavitae*." During the seventeenth century occur in the Kirksession records cases of discipline, inflicted upon those who had got drunk on whisky. To check the consumption, which had become mischievous, a duty of one pound sterling per gallon was, in 1707, imposed on all spirits distilled within the kingdom. This stringent policy essentially failed, for malt made in Morayshire was shipped at Findhorn and illicitly received back, distilled into gin. To restrain this new evil, a legislative measure was passed in 1742 recalling the high duty and substituting one merely nominal. But a taste for foreign spirits having been created, home-made liquor ceased to be in demand. Smuggling became a species of

[1] Moryson's "Itinerary," Part III., 155.

trade, preferred by many tenant-farmers on both coasts to irksome labour in the fields. From the time of the Union till the close of the century, contrabandists stood high in popular esteem. Commended for venturous daring, they were regarded as benefactors by lessening the price of commodities; also by defying "our auld enemies of England," as the shirking of the excise duties was supposed effectually to do. On this account, the uneducated from a delusive patriotism, and the educated from strong self-interest, were ready to aid the law defiers, and by every means to deceive the exciseman. Referring to the smuggling trade at Dundonald, on the Clyde, Professor Walker in his "MS. History" remarks: "This demoralizing trade was carried on so extensively, and with so little disguise, that the principals constituted a sort of recognised corporation, claiming a rank second only to that of the landowners, and bearing themselves as the *petite noblesse* of the community. In church they occupied as a body the front pew of the gallery, which was spoken of as 'the smuggler's loft,' and this not sneeringly, but with a feeling of respect. The illegality of their employment was forgotten or disregarded in a neighbourhood where persons of all ranks were openly and unscrupulously their customers. . . . The smugglers dwelt in excellent houses, wore fine clothes, rode showy horses, and exercised a cordial hospitality."

From Fifeness to Peterhead on the eastern seaboard, and on south-western shores from the Solway Firth to the Clyde, smuggling was practised at every sheltered creek. Those who by sea conducted the traffic were persons lawless and desperate, whose characters and aims have, in "Guy Mannering," been accurately pourtrayed by Sir Walter Scott, in the representation of Dirk Hatteraick. In running to strand their luggers laden with kegs of gin, brandy, and rum, also with chests of tea, and other contraband stores, the adventurous seamen were guided by special signals from the shore. These by day consisted of white sheets or shirts, suspended as if to dry, on cottage roofs or corn-stacks, or other elevations. By night the signals were bonfires kindled upon the cliffs, and at which was conducted a rude merriment, as the watchers thrust each other roughly into the flames. In connection with these rough modes existed a superstition that jostling by midnight fires perpetuated the rites of an earlier faith.

When the lugger crews had brought their vessels to the shore, the fires were extinguished and each watcher gave active aid in the work of disembarking. In less than an hour chests and kegs were borne from the hold to the shore, whereupon the lugger at once bore off. Next were the goods transferred to the nearest caverns, or if caverns were distant, to holes dug into the sand, or by the sea-margin. From

thence at the earliest opportunity all were borne inland on wheelless waggons, to be placed in smuggling depots improvised in shady nooks or infrequented solitudes. Some places of concealment were guarded by superstition. On the coast of Carrick, mischievous apparitions were supposed to linger; at night they had been known to attack the too adventurous gauger. Aged women who received and concealed contraband stores were content to be reputed as witches, so that their premises might be uninvaded. Near such beldames' dwellings were supposed to be seen at nightfall, coffins carried on the backs of demons; at times by the Evil One himself, surrounded by a retinue of his unhorned retainers. About a century ago Kate Steen, a reputed sorceress, flourished at Kirkoswald; she was so popular among the tenant-farmers as to be sustained by their beneficence. In her one-roomed house was contained a deep hold in which the contents of many a smuggling lugger found a temporary depositure. Over its entrance, covered with grass and rushes, she sat at her spinning-wheel. Her existence in association with Kirkoswald traditions suggested to the poet Burns the witch-scene in his tale of "Tam o' Shanter."

In every smuggling district the inhabitants were bound to secrecy. No one, the writer was informed by an aged gauger, ever informed upon the smugglers,

save those who had been employed by them and were dismissed for practices as dishonest as their own.

Contraband goods were purchased readily. Even the leading merchants of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen were not unwilling, with half mysterious air, to inform their customers that their articles of tea and foreign liquor had not paid the statutory duty. Smugglers became rich. Some estates in eastern Fifeshire were thus acquired by the families of the present owners, and not a few persons on south-western shores prospered in like manner. The smuggler was popular in proportion as the vigilant revenue officer was disliked. But there were excise-men everywhere who willingly were bound and fettered till the contents of the lugger were disembarked. In the year 1800, about 10,000 gallons of foreign spirits were smuggled into the country every month. Contraband traffic at length fell by judicious legislation. The commutation law of Mr Pitt, by reducing the duties upon exciseable articles, assailed the contrabandist with his own weapons, and ultimately overwhelmed him. When the smuggling of foreign goods was suppressed, the demand for liquor other than native gradually ceased. At the same time illicit distillation was revived. Unlicensed stills arose in highland glens and on low-land muirs ; also in the back-yards of hamlets and in

ordinary farm-courts. The process of distilling was so simple that the crofter's wife could conduct it in a booth, while her husband laboured on the farm.

Those who would have disdained to over-reach a neighbour were from early association not reluctant to plunder the public purse. When peculation was effected with outward decency, the conscience of the pilferer was quiescent. As the pious minister of Rosneath early in the century was remonstrating with a parishioner, who acknowledged that he distilled without licence, he was met with the rejoinder—"I alloo nae sweerin' at the still, and everything's dune dacently and in order; I canna see ony harm in't."[1] At length in 1806 illicit distillation was made the subject of a stern enactment, which was rigidly enforced, with eminent benefit to the revenue. The duty derived from spirits in Scotland in 1777 was £8000; in 1806 it increased to a quarter of a million.

To the Celts are we indebted for our sailing vessels in their earlier forms. The hide-covered canoe survived the Roman occupation, and was in occasional use up to the ninth century. By native workmen were in the eleventh century constructed sailing vessels, which in shape and rigging resembled the galleys of the Norsemen. Of these vessels the chief promoters were churchmen, for foreign merchandise

[1] "Life of the Rev. Robert Story, Minister of Roseneath," by Robert Herbert Story, Cambridge, 1862, pp. 48-49.

was initiated by the clergy and the monastic orders. By David I. and his royal successors were members of the religious houses exempted from customs in connection with their shipping.

As a place of shipbuilding Inverness enjoyed so early as the thirteenth century a considerable reputation. Two centuries later ship-carpenters prosecuted an active trade at Aberdeen and Leith. In 1475 the citizens of Aberdeen fitted out, at their own cost, three ships for the royal service. And in 1511, according to Lindsay of Pitscottie, there was built for James IV. at Newhaven, near Leith, a large ship named the *Great St Michael*, which in its construction gave employment to all the timber-workers of the kingdom for the period of a year. Measuring 240 feet in length, by 36 feet across the beams, the walls were 10 feet thick, while the material used in the construction exhausted the oak forests of Fife, besides all the timber which had been imported from Norway. On completion the *Great Michael* was provided with powerful cannon, manned by 120 gunners; it also received on board 300 sailors, and could also have accommodated one thousand soldiers. Placed under charge of the admirals Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton, it was found too costly an acquisition, and so for 40,000 livres was transferred to Louis XII. of France.

Scottish Fisheries, which had made some progress in the reign of David I., proved in that of Alexander III. a considerable source of revenue. In Alexander's reign the Isle of May had become the headquarters of a flotilla which for fishing purposes resorted to the Forth from all parts of Scotland and England; also from the coasts of Holland and Flanders. The chief ports whence fish were imported were Berwick and Aberdeen. The former is in "Lanercost's Chronicle" set forth as "the Alexandria of the north," and from another source we learn that its customs were in the reign of Alexander III. farmed for a sum equal to upwards of a quarter of the marine revenues of England. When in 1281 Edward I. prepared to invade Wales, he purchased at Aberdeen one hundred barrels of sturgeons as part of his commissariat stores. At this period Aberdeen had so high a reputation for curing that its fish was in demand at the great English fishing port of Yarmouth, while from Greenock on the Clyde, were the herrings of Lochfyne despatched to several foreign countries. Prior to the fourteenth century fisheries on the eastern sea-board were carried on in the small villages which studded the coast from Buchanness to Eyemouth. Luggers, wherries, and cobles, rarely exceeding in burden 100 tons, were usually employed.

On the 26th May 1424 Parliament enacted, under the authority of James I., that "there be paid to the

king, for custom of ilk thousand of fresch herrings sauld, of the sellar ane penny, and of the last[1] of herrings barrelled foure shillings; and of ilk thousand red herrings made in the realm, foure pennies." And by a Parliament of James III. it was enjoined in 1474 that "Lordes, Barrones, and Burrowes, gar make schippis, busches, and great pinck boats, with nettes and all abuilzements for fishing." In 1488 James IV. enacted "that strangers buy na fish but salted and baralled, nor buy nane other merchandice but at free burrowes, and then pay their deuties and customes, and take their cocquet as effeiris, and that they make na merchandice at the Lewis, nor other places, but at free burrowes." This Act was extended in 1491, when it was ruled that "townes and burrowes have the schippes and busches according to the substance of ilk town;" also, that "the least of the said schippes and busches be of twentie tun."

In 1540 it was ruled that the prices of white and other fish should be fixed by the magistrates of burghs, and that white fish should not be exported, yet resident foreign merchants might for ready money obtain supplies. Cadgers who conveyed provisions to the country were in the markets to be supplied in the morning, other purchasers in the afternoon. Further, it was ruled that "ane binde and measure be made for salmounde, herring, and kieling; and that

[1] A last of fish consisted of ten barrels.

ilk cowper have ane burning irone of his marke to marke ilk barrel," while unmarked barrels were "to be escheit." In 1573 each barrel of herrings was fixed to contain nine gallons "striveling measure."

Early in the seventeenth century Scottish seamen began to accompany Dutch fishermen to the deep sea fisheries. By a royal letter dated, 25th October 1626, the Commissioners of Exchequer were empowered by Charles I. to grant to Mr John Archibald a lease for five years of the excise duty on all white fish "taken within the seas and laiks . . . . from Pentland furth to the Mull of Galloway . . . togeddir with all others of assyse dewtis, . . . of all herring to be takin within the ylandis of the Lewis, Orkney, and Zetland, and within Murray firth and other northern parts."[1] A Royal Commission, which in 1630 was appointed under the direction of Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, to inquire into the state of the fisheries, led to the establishment of a great fishery in the Hebrides. Scottish fisheries, discontinued by Cromwell, were resumed by Charles II., who in 1669 established the "Royal Fishing Society," which, including £5000 which he personally subscribed, commenced with a capital of £25,000 sterling. The Royal Society enjoyed immunity from custom and excise duties; also an exclusive right of

[1] Earl of Stirling's "Register of Royal Letters," i. 85.

fishing upon the coasts, and of granting fishing licences to others.

Notwithstanding statutory impediments, the coast fisheries continued a source of revenue to those landowners whose estates skirted the sea-board. In 1696 three fishermen on the Don were by the proprietor of Foveran claimed as "addicti glebae," and incapable of rendering service on fisheries other than his own. But the Court of Session found that there was no law restricting fishermen to the ground where they were born, and that the custom was not general but confined to particular localities. And the custom was by the Court condemned as unlawful, and tending "to introduce slavery, contrary to the principles of the Christian religion and the mildness of our Government."[1]

The Scottish fisheries derived a new impulse by the creation, on the 12th July 1727, of "The Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries." This Board owed its existence to a provision in the Treaty of Union, whereby, in return for certain duties then first imposed upon Scotland, the sum of £2000 was granted as an annuity for improving the national manufactures and fisheries. Of the sum so granted, a moiety was applied to the deep-sea fisheries. From 1808 to 1839 the grant was administered under a separate trust, but in the latter year the Board of

[1] "Decisions of Court of Session," vol. xi., 4427-8.

Fisheries was amalgamated anew with that of Manufactures. In August 1882 a "Fishery Board for Scotland" was constituted by Parliament, charged with the duties of superintending and inspecting the whole herring and salmon fisheries of North Britain. Scottish whale-fishing commenced in 1730, when, however, only a single vessel was despatched to northern waters.

To Scottish enterprise steam navigation owes its existence, also its rapid development. After experimenting for some years with double and triple vessels propelled by paddle-wheels worked by manual labour, Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, on the 14th October 1788, had on Dalswinton Loch a boat propelled by Symington's steam-engine. The boat was twenty-five feet long by seven in breadth, the wheels being driven at the rate of five miles an hour. Further experiments were in 1801 conducted by Mr Symington on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and in 1812 Henry Bell, after much patient labour, and incurring the imputation of being a lunatic or a visionary, demonstrated by his "Comet" which sailed upon the Clyde, the possibility of steam navigation. In 1816 an adequate steamboat plied on the Moray Frith; and in 1860 chiefly through Scottish enterprise was established the Cunard Line of steamers between Liverpool and New York.

In surmounting some early difficulties arising from

a financial controversy between the Governors of the Royal Bank and the Bank of Scotland, the Board of Trustees for Manufactures were much indebted to the judicious counsel of the patriotic Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden. The Board for many years offered premiums for discoveries in connection with the national industries. In 1843 it was in a measure reconstituted, the funds being rendered chiefly applicable to the advancement of the fine arts. Under the direction of the Board have buildings been erected at the cost of £100,000, for the accommodation of the Royal Institution and of the National Gallery.

END OF VOL. I.

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